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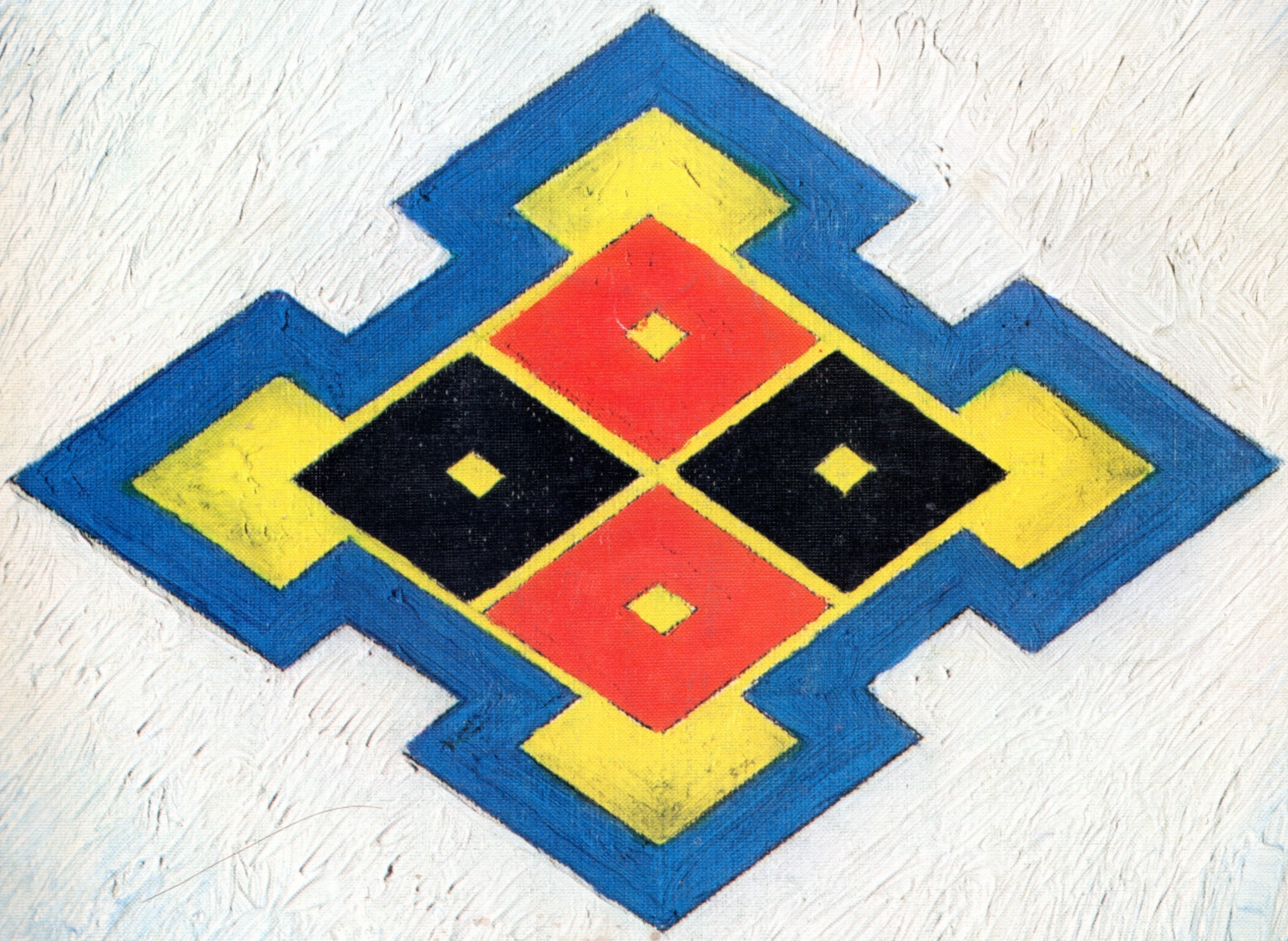
THE EAST



One-masted Craft **Shamanism in Early Japanese Society**
The Bank of Japan **The Gagaku Flutemaker**

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It's a receiver, a cassette deck,
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quality unit.

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Into this compact music system Sony has packed performance and quality to a degree that is nothing short of amazing.

Performance. It's an FM stereo/FM-AM tuner. It's a stereo cassette deck. It records programs direct from tuner to cassette with no recording cable necessary. It's a 4-speed auto/manual record changer that handles a stack of up to 5 records.

Quality. The distortion-free, all silicon-transistor stereo amplifier delivers a total of 36 watts of music power. The dynamic, 2-way speakers have wide-range frequency response. The record changer features a high-compliance cartridge for high fidelity pickup.

Sony gives you style, too, with elegant, wood cabinetry for the center unit and speakers. And the HP-219A has a special monitor switch which gives it genuine 4-channel adaptability!

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TEAC can make audio equipment like everyone else.

Or we can make it better.

A-450

We decided to make it better. And judging from the enthusiastic reception that TEAC has been receiving all these years, we made the right decision.

You can easily see the difference in our super A-450 cassette deck.

We could have made it with a wow and flutter rating similar to other cassette decks. But we went two steps further. Because our 0.07% rating is even better than most reel-to-reel decks selling for twice as much.

And like most other cassette decks, we could have been happy just to build in a Dolby* Noise Reduction System. Which of course would keep out tape noise and hiss.

But TEAC went even further. By putting our built-in Dolby on the monitoring circuit. So you can copy Dolby cassette tapes and record FM Dolby broadcasts with de-coded monitoring.

TEAC's reputation for engineering excellence is known throughout the world.

Radio and television stations, as well as professional recording studios have been using TEAC audio equipment for years.

The experts rely on TEAC. And that's a testimonial that we're proud of.

Convinced yet? Well, you may be interested to know that this "better than everyone else" strategy is also part of our reel-to-reel decks, car stereo systems and other cassette decks.

TEAC. The sound of perfection.

* 'DOLBY' is a trademark of Dolby Laboratories, Inc.

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The sound of perfection

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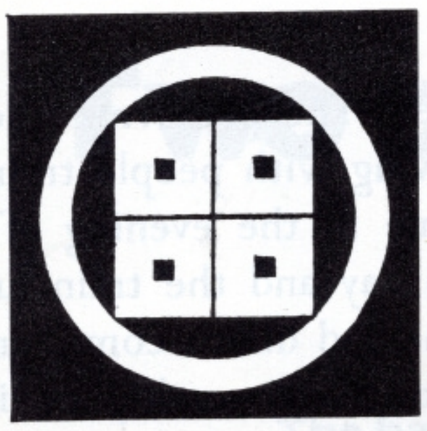
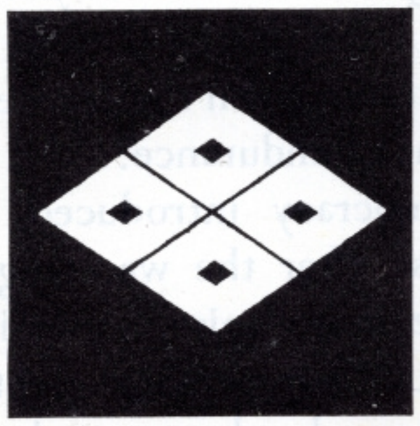
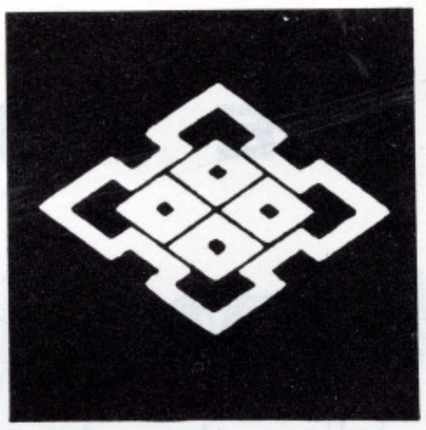
THE EAST

COVER







Family crests have often been taken from designs imprinted, dyed or woven into clothing. The meyui mon, however, is a rare example of a crest originating in a design originating in a dyed pattern.

Known as *shibori* in Japanese, tie-dying is one of the oldest crafts, a method of dying simple of conception but painstaking in the execution. The overall design is delineated in what often amount to thousands and tens of thousands of little beads on a dyed ground. Each bead is produced by tying off a tiny portion of the cloth with thread; when the cloth is dipped into the dye the tied-off section retains the original color of the cloth so that after the threads are removed the pattern emerges in a charming pattern of "dewdrop-like" beads. It was this highly favored type of pattern that was abstracted into the meyui design.

There may be as many as sixteen squares in squares, or "fawn spots" as they are called. The famous general who followed Minamoto no Yoritomo into battle against the Heike to cover himself with glory, Sasaki Takatsuna, used a design of three squares on his formal dress. That was during the Kamakura Period. After the Nanbokuchō (northern and southern Imperial Courts) Period, the design became fairly well fixed at four.

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A WORD FROM THE PUBLISHER

The large-scale transportation strikes that hit Japan late this April may well have made the news elsewhere. The strikes gained workers in public transportation pay hikes of a size that is far from common. At the center of the strike was Japan's most left-wing labor union, the union for Japan National Railways.

But what was most unusual about this strike was the prelude—in the "go-slow" maneuvers that preceded the out-and-out strike, some of the passengers broke out rioting and inflicted considerable damage on station facilities.

The process behind this sequence of events requires some explanation. As public employees, the workers on the JNR lines have been restricted from striking and so have relied on the famous go-slow tactics known as junpō tōsō (順法闘争), literally, "war by abiding by the rules."

Junpō means "to follow the legal rules and restrictions." It seems difficult to believe that so much disruption could be caused by following the rules, but in fact by invoking the laws on the books calling for rigid inspections and cautious operation of vehicles, the workers have been able to slow the trains down to a crawl, stop them endlessly and finally bring the whole train system to a grinding halt. Here is a perfect example of the dichotomy between *tatemaé* and *honné* that I talked about in the Word from the Publisher in Vol. VIII No. 7.

Consider the almost unbearable discomfort experienced by every salaried employee who rides the trains each day during rush hour when they are packed to twice and thrice capacity and then consider how many times this must be multiplied when the schedule is slowed to half the pace and the number of trains cut down by so much. Anyone who stands back and watches these passengers during the rush hour peaks at eight in the morning and early in the evening has to let out a whistle of admiration for their stamina in "taking it." Adopting the typical Japanese resignation expressed in the all-too-famous phrase "*shikata ga nai*." they simply endure the torturous time, possibly hours, until they reach their station. And it's this bad on ordinary days when the trains are pulling into the station every two minutes. You just put up with it. *Shikata ga nai, gaman suru.*

But now we have war according to the rules. The platforms filled to overflowing with people trying to get home in the evening of a junpō tōsō day and the train just didn't come and didn't come, and when it did it was worth your life to get on it . . . and then it just stood there and did not move while the passengers closest to the driver screamed at him to get the thing going—well, the dam finally broke. The rest of the passengers took up the cry and then surged out of the trains after the station employees. The employees fled. Several young men who were drunk began to batter the trains. Even the Japanese have a point of endurance.

The democracy introduced to the Japanese after the war taught them to be more noisy, more insistent about their personal rights. Lately various local groups have become quite vociferous in their demands. In areas where the local residents have formed solidarities, the Japanese are well on their way to becoming a very "noisy" people.

But there is (as yet) no organization of the Passenger Party, and when the Japanese stand naked without an organization they evidence all of their famous shyness and lack of concern for others who are merely "others out there." These feelings lead them to be submissive. Because they are "shy" they give up any opposition and endure, gaman suru.

The incident in April was almost a demonstration of the biological limits to which the enduring, resigned Japanese can be driven. The difference between Japanese as individuals and Japanese in groups continues to manifest itself in many ways. 東

A Notice to Potential Contributors

We welcome contributions from our readers and have been receiving quite a few, but we have had to turn many well-written ones down. We would find it easier to use articies which say something that only you can say—your experiences in Asia as a foreigner, your critical observations on Japanese society, interpersonal relations, customs and culture. It is the job of our staff to introduce various aspects of Japan and Asia, and the content of successive issues is decided fairly far in advance. Your individual way of looking at things will make the best contribution.

Two philosophies of the steak.

The basic philosophy of the American restaurant.

The chef throws a slab of raw steak into the kitchen broiler.

It sits there until it's rare, medium or well-done.

The waiter brings it to your table.

You eat it.

The Benihana philosophy.

The chef comes right up to your hibachi table. (Why shouldn't you see the man who's actually creating your meal?)

He bows. (There's no reason why a chef can't be a gentleman.)

He sets the raw steak in front of you. (Isn't it nice to see for yourself that you're getting the very freshest, prime cuts?)

He asks you how you want it. (There's no luxury like the luxury of dealing directly with your chef.)

He cuts your steak into bite-size morsels. (Why should you have to perform any labor?)

His knife begins a snappy, rhythmic attack on the onions. (We believe there's as much drama in a dancing onion as in a dancing chorus girl.)

He slams the pepper shaker against the grill. (It's not good for a chef to suppress his excitement.)

As he cooks he adds all kinds of Japanese sauces and seasonings. (No, Worcester sauce is not part of our theory.)

At last he puts the sizzling steak directly on your plate. (The world's fastest waiter couldn't serve you better.)

You eat it. (Tell us. Has there ever been a more palatable philosophy?)

BENIHANA of TOKYO

Marina Del Rey-14160 Panay Way, 821-8051 • Encino-16226 Ventura Boulevard, 788-7121 • Beverly Hills-38N. La Cienega Blvd., 659-1511
New York, Boston, Harrisburg, Fort Lauderdale, Chicago, Seattle, Portland Ore., San Francisco, Las Vegas, Encino, Beverly Hills, Honolulu, Tokyo.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Dear Sir:

This is only my second copy of "The East." Let me put it this way. . . I have not found anything in your magazine *that did not* interest me. I am very interested in Zen. I have studied calligraphy three years (though my teacher has been in the U.S. so long she has forgotten many characters), and also sumi-e (and I'm on my own there because she studies Western art under an Italian). I like to try to write haiku (and I try to keep in mind the "thirteen states of mind" necessary for this). Haiku written in American schools are not properly written. They turn out to be English poems of seventeen syllables. And we like Japanese cooking and I do this at every opportunity.

Mrs. R. Teeter
Housewife, calligrapher
and sumi-e artist (I
think, since my works
are selling)

INFORMATION BOX

Q

Dear Sirs:

We hope that you are all fine today. We noticed your ad, in a magazine, concerning the book *Kanji Kanji*. We are learning Japanese brush calligraphy and Kanji. We cannot find any books that have large, clear character representations and we wonder if this book does. Could you please send us information on this book and perhaps a list of other books you sell? We would appreciate that. We may be interested in *Kanji Kanji* anyway, if the characters show brush strokes rather than pen representations.

Sincerely,
Neil Evans
Fairbanks, Alaska, USA

A

Kanji Kanji does have a few showing the order of brush strokes for brushing Kanji. The bulk of the illustrations are done with a brush as part of a picture that shows the origin of the Kanji.

If you wish to obtain a book which shows each Kanji in *kaisho* (or any other particular) style and you do not care if it is in Japanese, there are many on the market, averaging about ¥100–2000 apiece, and we could send one such to you. *Kanji Kanji* is meant to make each character unforgettable both in reading and writing, by acquainting you with the stories surrounding its origin. While we have not yet issued a sequel, it is our intention to do so in the future, since the warm reception the book has gotten seems to warrant it.

Q

Dear Sirs:

In your issue Vol IX No 2, there is a reference to the fact that the Genpei War when the Genji defeated the Heike in a five-year campaign was dealt with in your Vol VII No 2. Your same recent issue announces that Vol VII No. 2 is NOT available for sale as a back number. When I read that I spat chips and kicked the cat!

I have read with fascination the English version of the historical novel "The Heike Story", and walked over the areas of Kyoto dealt with, as well as seeing several episodes on TV in Japan. I also walked the cattleground at Yashima, picked up threads at Miyajima, and stayed overnight on the spot where the survivors came ashore at Shimonoseki—but the English version of "The Heike Story" ends with Yoshitsune's escape from Kyoto and his flight north. I now find that he santuaried at Haraizumi prior to the Genji strikeback, and your Vol IX No 2 tells me of his end.

But please, pretty please, can you get me somehow a copy of Vol VII No 2 containing the account of the Genpei War, or even a photocopy of the article. I will pay any reasonable sum.

Over the past 12 months I have enquired in Japan and the United States for the remainder of "The Heike Story" in English (after Yoshitsune's flight from Kyoto) without avail. If it is in print somewhere, I certainly can't find it. And I do so want to know the rest of the story!

I would be eternally grateful if you could get me a copy of the article from that back number of yours. Also if you can help with the latter part of the historical novel.

More power to your magazine—it's a gem to a Japan-lover of long standing.

Yours faithfully,
B. C. Smith
Tasmania, Australia

A

Overwhelmed by your enthusiasm and dismayed to have caused you such dismay, we are xeroxing a copy of the article you refer to and are sending it to you right away! Also, you might be interested to know that Helen McCullough has written a book called *Yoshitsune*, published by Columbia University Press.

And thank you for the much-needed encouragement!

Q

Gentlemen:

Could you be of help in my search to find this company . . . Yamasa Shoyu Co., Ltd. . . . in Japan.

My family received a bottle of soy sauce which this company had made and we found it so tasty and good that we don't care for any other brand now.

Could you help me locate the company and whether or not it might be possible to order from it?

Thank you so much for your kindness and consideration.

Sincerely yours,
Mrs. Joan Ann

A

The only U.S. dealer which takes on the whole trade of soy sauce produced at Yamasa Shoyu Co. Ltd. is HOSODA BROS. Please contact it and see whether it might be possible to order from it.

Its address is: HOSODA BROS
1596 Post Street
San Francisco
Calif. 94109 U.S.A.

Cause for Lament

We are most chagrined to have to note the printing error on the cover and inside the previous issue (Vol. IX No. 5) recording it as the June issue. It is not. It is the May issue; the present issue is the June issue. Thank you.

Remodeling Japan?

THE SOARING PRICE index as seen in beef and all other commodities in Tōkyō has been given vociferous consideration in recent years. If taken at face value, it might give the impression that travelling in Japan is becoming a grand luxury, though this need not be so if you do not insist on Western style travel comfort. In fact, touring in Japan can be made rather economical if only you know how. Eating in Tōkyō, for example, offers an incredible range of choices. Crowded into every boulevard and alley in Tōkyō are restaurants serving food from whatever country you can name. They run the gamut from dirt-cheap greasy spoons to exorbitant fancy restaurants. If you stay away from beef steaks until you get home, and if you do not mind a venture with chopsticks, you will certainly come across filling and economical dishes.

That may be so, but it is also true that Japan has lately been branded internationally with a bad reputation for its outrageous cost of living, and the patience of consumers is gradually wearing pretty thin. The government is, of course, becoming uneasy at the leaping prices, and has surrendered before the power of consumers by enacting emergency measures to promote the import of beef, and improving the commodity distribution system. Should the prices actually come down, Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka's popularity might even recover a little. . . . .

The ridiculous price of beef aside, what ticks Tōkyōites off most is the absolutely crazy way land prices have been bolting up and up, until even a tiny plot has become a pie in the sky for the average citizen.

It is Tanaka's key campaign slogan, "Remodelling the Japanese Island Chain," that fanned further speculation on the already way too expensive land—no wonder inflation is a major pain in the neck for the administration. Even the bullish Prime Minister Tanaka had to apologize in the Diet for the slow progress of his anti-inflationary programs.

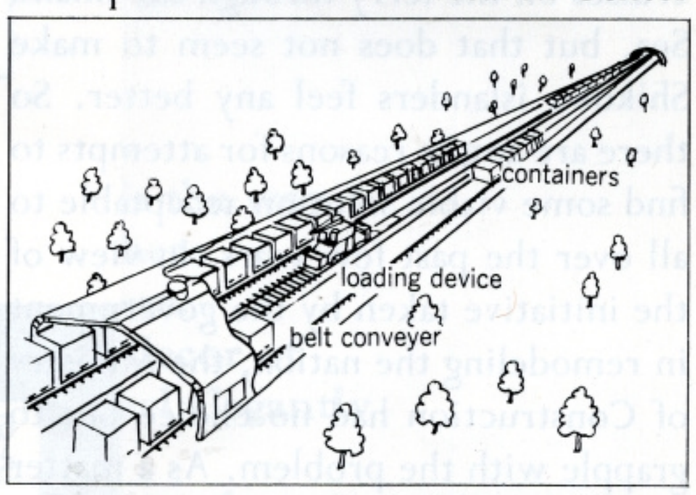
As the inflation soars, the dreamy plan of a young white-collar worker to someday own his sweet home fades and is extinguished. At best and with luck he *might* be able to get a loan and purchase a small apartment where it would likely take two hours to commute each way to his place of work in downtown Tōkyō. For his modest home he would need a bank loan of at least $30,000—which means pledging his anticipated retirement allowance. This glum state of affairs has created numerous nouveau riches among the property owners in Tōkyō. The administration's economic policies are on one of the horns of the dilemma, and remodeling Japan on the other.

* * *

The upper photo was taken by a news cameraman of the *Tōkyō Shinbun* (newspaper). He got the snapshot at a park in Yokohama. A man is taking a nap at the "home" he marked off in the sand. Well-tended garden plants are supposedly growing along the road. There are of course an entrance, hallway, living room, bath room, and even a tiny, but indubitable, front yard with a pond—everything one could ask for in a home. Scribbled in the sand are the instructions, "Visitors, please knock on the door." The explanation of the picture says, "The man ended up in this park after a long, fruitless search for a house to live in." And the caption enjoins, "Prime Minister Tanaka, we want you to take a good look at this photo."

Despite the fact that land is unattainable for the vast masses of working employees in Tōkyō, land is being purchased lot after lot and buildings mushroom one after another. More strangely, these buildings immediately fill up like lights in a circuit with offices, restaurants, and stores with dazzling show windows . . . this certainly is a mysterious city.

More and more of everything flows into Tōkyō to further stimulate its already intolerable overpopulation. The constant traffic jams in greater Tōkyō are a daily affair which nobody pays special attention to any more. The freeway that was built from Tōkyō to Ōsaka a few years ago has deteriorated into an "unfree" way choked with an endless string of cars. Driven to desperation and exasperation, the Japan Transport Economics Research Center



recently announced a bold new idea to the public to construct a belt conveyor cargo transport system from Tōkyō to Ōsaka. The distance between these two cities approximates a little less than that between San Francisco and Los Angeles. Belts, 1 kilometer in length, would be laid out in succession and the conveyor operated at the speed of 30 kilometers per hour, one lane transporting over 100 million tons of goods annually. The selling points for this project are the low cost, pollution-free operation, and the promise that the device will pay for itself in six

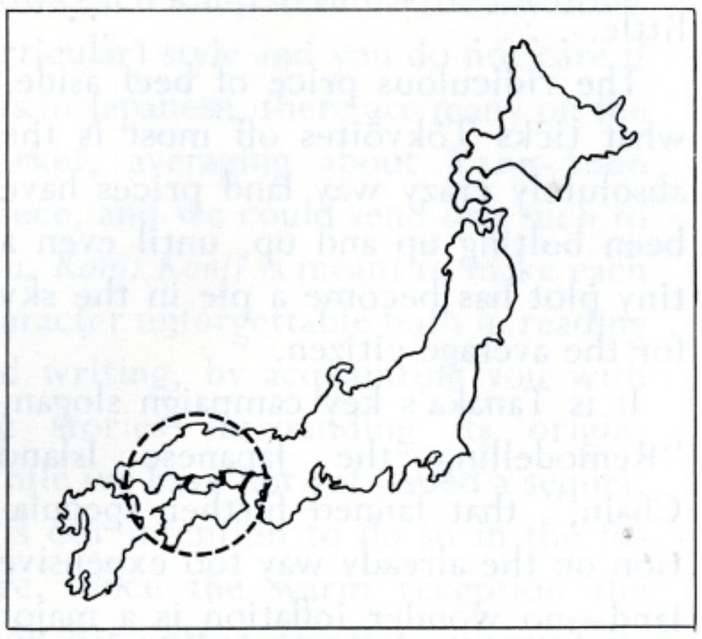
years, making it quite an attractive plan over the long run. A group of industries is expected to start a large-scale experiment to determine its feasibility.

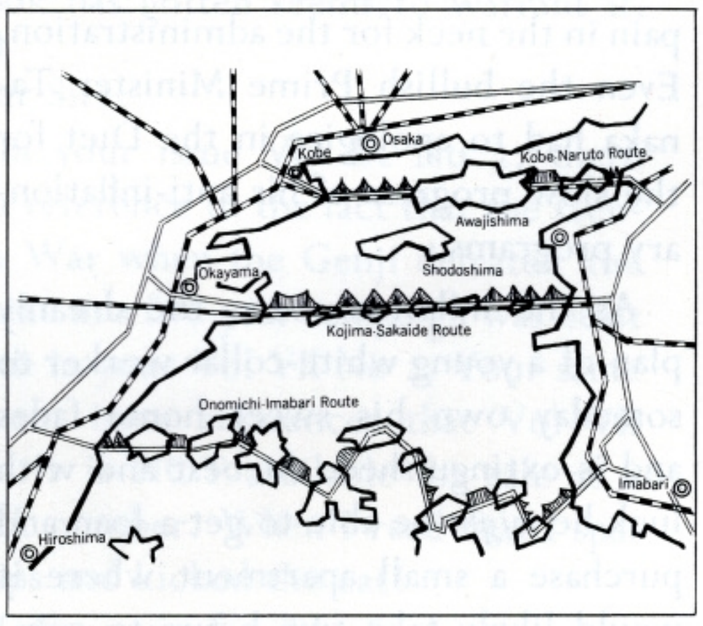
* * *

The national budget for the year allocates generous funds for the "remodeling" of Japan. Already signs indicate that things are on the go. The most controversial among all the national remodeling projects is without question the construction of three giant suspension bridges to connect Honshū (the main island) with Shikoku Island. The bridges when completed will supposedly be the world's longest suspension bridges.

Among the four major islands that make up the Japanese Chain, Shikoku lies sandwiched between Honshū and Kyūshū. Though no discrimination has been consciously made by the main island, the four million residents of the four prefectures that comprise Shikoku seem to have always felt "neglected," and are still unable to totally shake off the groundless inferiority complex. Tourists from Honshū find abundant scenic spots in Shikoku which offers charming marine parks and pleasant cruises on the ferry through the Inland Sea, but that does not seem to make Shikoku islanders feel any better. So there are ample reasons for attempts to find some viable solution acceptable to all over the past few years. In view of the initiative taken by the government in remodeling the nation, the Ministry of Construction had no choice but to grapple with the problem. As a matter of fact, the bridges, if they are ever finished, will not only make people of Shikoku ecstatic but will certainly invite industries to develop on the island. But once the project of the Inland Sea bridge was formalized, it caused an astonishing commotion in that region.

The three prefectures (Tokushima, Kagawa, and Ehimé) facing on the Inland Sea all insisted determinedly that the bridge end up in their prefectures. Each prefecture pushed hard declaring all the reasons in its official construction blueprint why it was the only logical location for the bridge. Nor did campaign warfare end there. A "Citizens' Committee on Inviting the Cross-Channel Bridge Project" was organized in every prefecture, and once organized, launched into massive lobbying in the Diet headed by the dietmen of each district and the governor. Their fervor suggested that the local leaders might even commit *harakiri* if their appeal should be turned down. The three prefectures joined





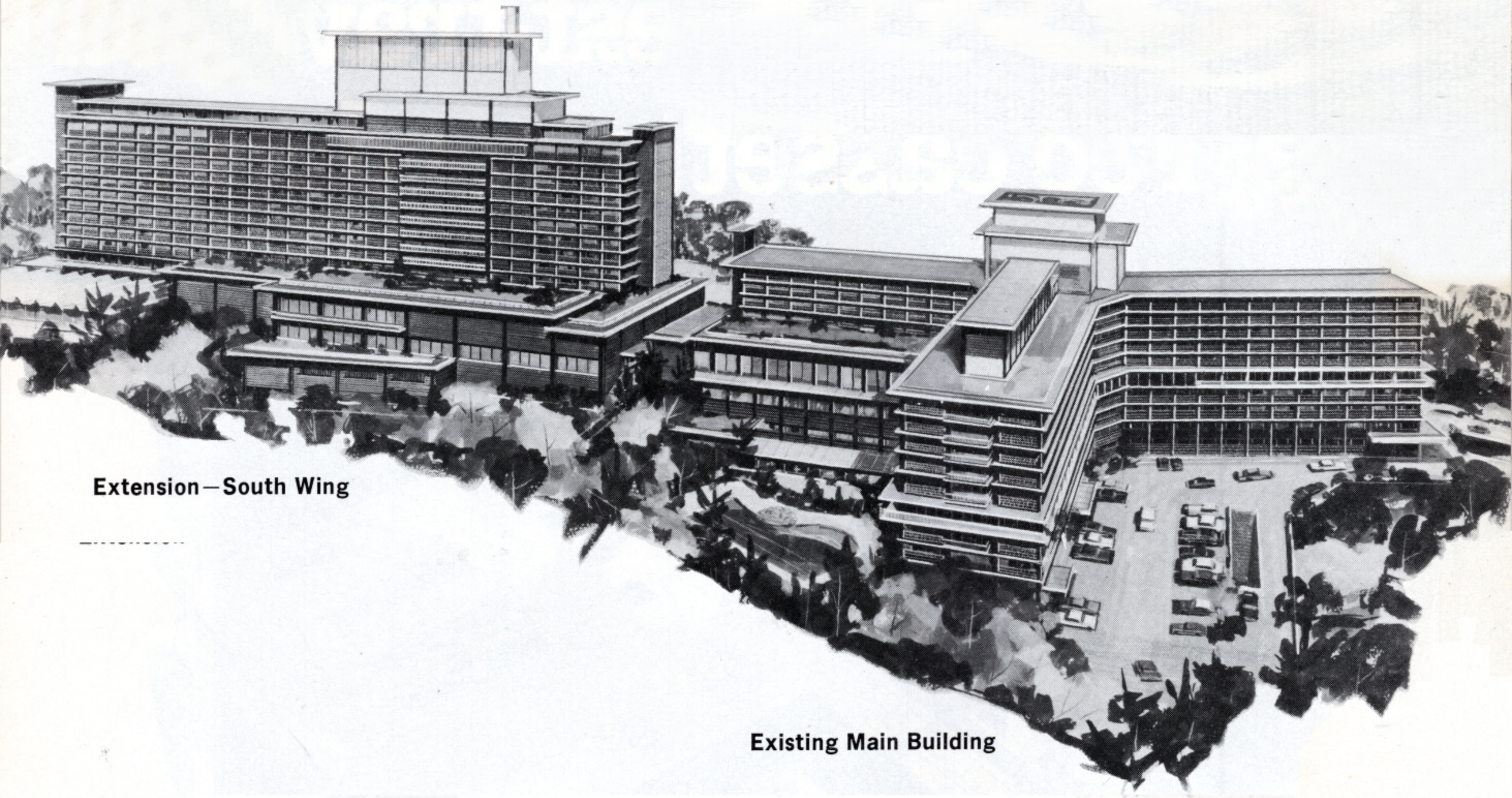
hands with their respective partners on the Honshū side (Kōbe, Okayama, and Hiroshima), and the whole situation has turned into one big freeforall. It is understandable why the inhabitants of Shikoku are so intent on having the 60 kilometer bridge connect one island with the other, but the intensity of the competition has the general public shaking its head in disbelief. With things as they are, building only one bridge will inevitably create a grudge that would last for generations among the losers of the bid. The government racked its brains for a workable solution. Well, the verdict handed down by the new Tanaka administration is . . . to build *three* bridges to Shikoku, appropriating 1,400 billion yen for their construction. In terms of the scale alone, the administration certainly deserves the name "remodeller of Japan."

The public at large was astounded. Where else in the world would three bridges be constructed to the same island all at one time? Mr. Togashi, the president of the public corporation created for this project offered a strained excuse, "It is our understanding that the traffic situation today calls for three bridges to be built simultaneously." Though one-third of the construction expense is to be borne by the prefectures, it is obvious the decision was a compromise reached to satisfy all concerned. In any event, it is strange that such a waste of tax money has not called down a storm of public criticism. Is it because of the typical Japanese hesitation for fear that criticism might hurt the feelings of the Shikoku people, or is it a matter of Japanese taste, the tendency to think the bigger the better? Or, perhaps some profound reasoning lies hidden behind the silence and the bridges really will pay off, depending on how they are utilized?

In any case, the project is colossal not only with regard to the length of the bridges but the advanced technology it calls for to run the trains as well as cars on the same bridges, bridges that will span the rapid currents and deep waters of the Inland Sea and be suspended at the longest point over a distance of 1,700 meters between two supports.

The Fearsome Horse Children

JAPANESE SCHOOL bells start jangling to announce the new term in April. The new primary school pupils flood into the schoolyard wearing their new dresses like schoolchildren everywhere and carrying new school knapsacks on their backs. But wait. This year it's different. The children entering pri-



Extension—South Wing

Existing Main Building

To make your trip to Japan a lasting memory... Hotel Okura.

Pleasant memories remain. At the Hotel Okura, this is the way we plan your stay. With impeccable service in an atmosphere of refinement. And unobtrusive bits of Japan here and there. Like our tea ceremony room, kimonoed elevator girls, the decor of our lobby and guest rooms. It's our way of making you feel elegantly at home in Japan.

Everything in our hotel, of course, is devoted to your comfort and pleasure. With completion of our Extension in November, 1973, we'll have 980 guest rooms, 37 banquet and conference rooms, 7 restaurants, 5 bars and lounge, a heated year-round swimming pool, a gymnasium. For a memorable experience, include a stay at the Hotel Okura, one of the world's distinguished hotels.

Hotel Okura

The Distinguished Hotel of the World

Iwajiro Noda, Chairman Torao Aoki, President & General Manager
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mary schools this year at a full six years of age were born in 1966. The total number of babies born in that year throughout Japan was 1,360,974; this shows a decrease of 462,723 compared with 1965 and also a decrease by about the same number under 1967. The reason why babies were born in such a small number in that particular year (1966) lies in a singular phenomenon, the superstition of *hinoe-uma* or "Year of the Horse."

The year of hinoe-uma is one of the combinations produced on a 60-year cycle, according to the Chinese way of reckoning years, days and hours which is called *jikkan jūnishi*, the ten and the twelve astrological signs. Tradition says that the year of hinoe-uma is marked by many fires, and since the middle of the Edo Period people have commonly held that children born under the hinoe-uma sign are all forceful and overbearing, especially the women. When hinoe-uma women get married, they are supposed to always henpeck their husbands and eventually lead them to an early grave.

This superstition was especially prevalent in the Genroku Era (1688–1703). The nation was enjoying a peace that was to go unbroken until the middle 19th century, and then the year of hinoe-uma came around during the reign of Eighth Shōgun Yoshimuné. Abortions and secret murders of girl babies cropped up frequently throughout the country and finally began to pose a real social problem. The Shōgunate then issued a proclamation called the *Hinoe-uma Satoshi-bumi*, "a letter of persuasion to reason with the people on hinoe-uma." In this document it tried to explain, with careful logic, that the belief was nothing but a meaningless superstition. But despite the concern evinced by their government, people went on being horrified when a girl baby came into the world during that year.

The unlucky parents knew they would have great trouble finding a suitable match for a daughter born under hinoe-uma when she became of marriageable age. According to the statistics, the number of babies born in 1906 (the 39th year of Meiji), the year of hinoe-uma before the last, was 30 percent below average. This proves that even since Meiji the superstition of hinoe-uma has remained alive in the hearts of the people.

Whether it is sincerely believed or not, the new primary school pupils this year are mainly eldest sons and daughters, and the first child accounts for 51.8 percent of the total number. Behind this fact one may sense a matter of some delicacy, the suggestion that most of the married couples succeeded in their controls to avoid conceiving a second or the third child in the year of hinoe-uma. Anyway, it is surprising to note that, as in Kōchi Prefecture for instance, not one of the 19 primary schools in 17 cities, towns, and villages had any new pupils, and there were as many as 40 schools with only one lone new face. The same phenomenon can be observed in various areas all through Japan.

Furthermore, the children born in the year of hinoe-uma and entering primary school this spring stand in a considerably advantageous position; with very few rivals and the resultant very low competition rate, they will be free from the usual fierce competition when they take entrance examinations to high schools or universities in future, or take examinations for employment. Next year, we expect an increase of approximately 500,000 over this year in the number of new primary school pupils. A large mass of children now hold themselves in readiness to surge on the society like a great wave.

Radioactivity vs Dirty Air

THE JAPAN Nuclear Power Research Institute and Ebara Works have jointly developed an epoch-making system which promises to eliminate sulphur oxides and nitrogen oxides—both major polluting agents—from smoke emitted by factories.

A number of methods have already been developed to eliminate sulphur oxides, but none so far has employed radioactive rays for the purpose. This new method not only employs such rays but also can eliminate both sulphur oxides and nitrogen oxides at the same time.

It is a simple apparatus made up of an electron beam accelerator, beaming chamber, and the electrostatic precipitator. When the smoke emitted by burning heavy oil passes through the chamber, the accelerated electron beam hits the gaseous by-products of combustion such as sulphur oxides and nitrogen oxides which combine with water and turn into harmless minute particles (known as particulates) that are collected into the adjoining electrostatic precipitator.

In the experiment conducted by the Japan Nuclear Power Research Institute, heavy oil was burned and its emission was guided into the beaming chamber at a flow of 10 cubic meters per hour; this was hit by the continual electron beam of 2.8 million volts, 2 milli-amperes. The treatment eliminated 90% of the sulphur oxides and 100% of the nitrogen oxides from the smoke that passed through the chamber. By changing the beam, it is possible to eliminate the sulphur oxides completely.

The treatment by this method costs two to three times as much as previous devices because it is still in the experimental stage. A larger system will make it possible to treat a greater volume of smoke. Though it might still be costly compared to other available methods, its capacity to eliminate nitrogen oxides simultaneously with the sulphur oxides should make it quite attractive to industries.

Apart from the question of cost, there is also the problem of what to do with the solid by-products of the treatment. When this difficulty has been ironed out the radioactive treatment of the smoke can be put to wide use. We're on our way to cleaning up the atmosphere.

July

When the oppressive rainy season with its insistent rain, rain, rain off and on every day, finally comes to an end around June 10th, the real summer sets in with sudden intense heat. The average temperature in Tokyo at this time is 25.1° C, the second hottest time of the year after August. The average humidity is 80 percent, the highest of any season in the year, inducing a sultry, heavy mood in everyone.

Sometimes in the afternoons of sunny, humid days, the terrific clap of sudden thunder startles city dwellers, who are reminded of the existence of the nature with which they commune so little.

The Midyear Presents.

In japan, people have maintained a custom of exchanging presents among themselves at two fixed periods of the year, in July and in December. This custom is practiced, on a nation-wide scale, by almost all Japanese, not only personally but among companies and organizations as well. July is called the month of *o-chūgen*, or the "midyear presents," and December, that of *o-seibo*, or the "year-end gift."

This custom was originally introduced into Japan from China in connection with Taoism. In Taoism, January 15th is called *jōgen* 上元 and regarded as the birthday of the God of Heaven who brings good luck to all. October 15th, called *kagen*, 下元 is the birthday of the God of Water who protects human beings from disasters caused by fire or water, while July 15th became known as *chūgen*, 中元 the birthday of the God of the Earth who loves human beings and absolves them of their sins. The Chinese people customarily made a gift of money and articles to each of these Gods on their respective birth days.

When the custom of offering the God of the Earth money and goods on July 15th was introduced to Japan, however, it became associated with the O-*Bon* Festival in Buddhism which was also held on July 15th. O-*Bon* was originally a function in which the members of the family made offerings and presented prayers for the souls of their ancestors who returned from the realm of the dead to this world for a short visit. It was common practice, too, at this festival for relatives and acquaintances to pay visits to each other, bringing their own offerings. These two customs combined into a general exchange of presents during the period between July 1st and 15th, which still remains quite popular among most of the Japanese today though they never think about the historical basis behind it.

How do people exchange presents? A family sends private gifts chiefly to superiors in the company where the head of the family is working, to those who have done much for the family personally, to teachers if children attend school or take lessons in one thing or another, and to the relatives with whom the family are always on intimate terms. Names easily fill a gift list, certainly no less than ten to begin with.

The same goes for presents from companies or shops. Companies give presents to their business associates or persons in charge at government offices concerned. Stores present each of their everyday customers with some little gift like a Japanese towel, or *tenugui*.

Traditional etiquette or courtesy in Japan requires that one who has received such a gift make a return present of some article which is nice

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Famous crimson signs of summer, the hōzuki *suffer being picked apart by Japanese children, who take out the seed sacs, put them in their mouths and blow to produce a flute-like sound.* *Photograph by Maeda Shinzō*

but not nicer than what one has received, or just as the expression of one's cordial thanks, respectfully soliciting continuing patronage. Especially when one gives a present to the person who did or will do much for one personally, the return present is gratitude, for in this case, the giver's thought behind the gift is always: "Thank you very much for your kindness. I hope you will be good enough to give me your continuing help in the future."

Therefore, not a few persons in superior positions in companies or government offices, who only receive presents without giving any

in return, find one of the rooms of the house piled to the ceiling with gifts in July and December every year. This trend once excited severe criticism among the public, and finally the government offices took it seriously, initiating a movement for the abolition of such formalities. Yet soon people found that nothing had changed, everything was the same as before.

Why has this custom not been abolished? For one thing, most Japanese never forget various sorts of kindness, small or big, which others extend them in their everyday life and always feel they have to repay it. It is impossible, however, for them to write, or give presents, to every person who ever does something for them right at the time. The custom of presenting such persons with some gifts at the fixed periods of the year, that is, in July as *o-chūgen* and in December as *o-seibo*, is therefore quite a convenient way to express their feelings of gratitude.

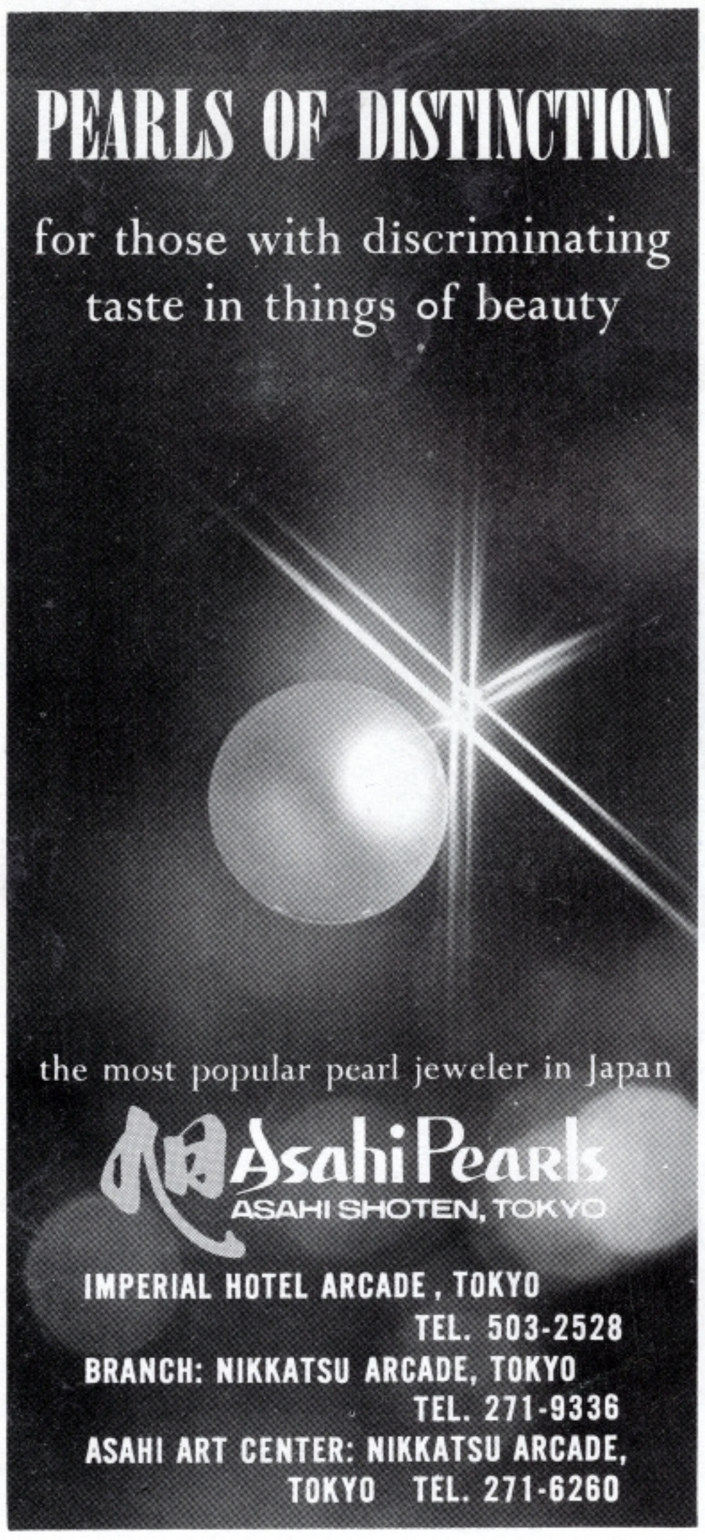
The period of exchanging gifts at *o-chūgen*, as mentioned above, is between July 1st and 15th. Already by the middle of June, department stores and shops are busily and loudly advertising everything but the kitchen sink for "*O-chūgen* sale." Almost any article at all can be presented as a gift, and according to the report by the department stores, the articles which sell best are these: foodstuffs like several dozen beers, assorted dairy products, assorted condiments, assorted soft drinks, candies, and fruits; household articles, such as soap and towels; and shirt or suit material with a coupon entitling the bearer to have a shirt or business suit made free of charge. Some people make presents of quite expensive articles costing hundreds of thousands yen, such as articles made of gold or silver, jewels, curios, and paintings. The average sum of money paid for one gift is from 2,000 yen to 5,000 yen. The sales of the o-chūgen gifts achieved at about 300 department stores throughout the country during one o-chūgen period amounted to 117,000 million yen, approximately 45 percent of their same period's gross sales of 260,000 million yen. Further, it is reported that the biggest department store in Japan rings up 1,800 million yen in such *o-chūgen* sales.

The formal way of wrapping a present in Japan is this: the package is covered with two sheets of thick Japanese paper, one right over the other. At the back of the package, both right and left borders of the paper are overlapped, so that the left may be placed upon the right. Then, ceremonial paper strings, called *mizuhiki*, are drawn across the package and in the center on the top *Noshi*, the felicitous abalone shell symbol, is pasted on the upper right corner of the front. Above the line of *mizuhiki*, or to put it another way, in the center of the upper half of the front, are written vertically a few words like *o-chūgen* 御中元, *o-iwai* 御祝 (congratulatory), or *o-mimai* 御見舞 (get-well gift), indicating the purpose for which the present is to be given. Underneath the mizuhiki and right under the words, the name of the giver is recorded, also vertically.

Now, in what manner is a present thus wrapped handed to a person? The most formal way of presenting it is this: the present is put on a lacquered tray and covered with a gorgeously embroidered piece of silk cloth 30 to 40 centimeters square, which is called *fukusa*.

This manner, however, is so ostentatious that it has been omitted quite often recently except on special occasions. The formal style of presentation calls for sitting opposite the recipient and setting the gift on the *tatami* in front of you directed toward yourself, and then turn it three times until the front faces the person you are giving it to. This style, however, is not followed at such "rush periods" as *o-chūgen* and *o-seibo*, when a family, a company, or a shop has many addresses to which the presents are to be sent. On these occasions, few people call on a person at his house and hand their present directly to him. Most send the gifts via department stores, which wrap them up formally and have a number of specially employed part-time students deliver them.

Generally in foreign countries, one who has received a present immediately opens it before the giver and expresses his pleasure there and then, while in Japan it is etiquette for the recipient to open the present after the guest takes his leave. Yet, there are cases of fami-



lies who receive roomfuls of presents every *o-chūgen* or *o-seibo* period and have no time to undo all of the packages even after the guests go much less while they are still there. In this case, some of the packages may finally get to be opened one or two months later and woe to all if the contents are fruits or cakes.

There is a stultifying sameness about the gifts received on *o-chūgen* or *o-seibo*, and so some people who have more cans of pineapple or bars of soap than they can ever use in a year take them back to the store to exchange it. Thus there is a great rush to the stores before o-chūgen to buy and then another great rush afterward to exchange them for something really necessary.

The 45-year-old wife of the Chief of a division at a government office summed up her grievances against the custom of *o-chūgen* in a letter to a newspaper:

"This spring, my husband was promoted to the post of Division Chief at the Prefectural Office. When the *o-chūgen* period came about three months thereafter, there was a rush of gifts every day. They were delivered by the students whom department stores specially employed only for this period, three or four times a day. Often, one delivery included more than four packages.

"I took notes on the articles every day. Would you believe it, we received 42 canisters of *nori* (dried paper-thin seaweed), 21 dozen cartons of beer, 9 shirts, 33 whisky sets, 34 bottles of Japanese saké, 11 boxes of assorted dairy products, 10 boxes of *shiitake* mushrooms, soaps, various kinds of cloth, powdered milk, and gift certificates: About 200 in all, most of which were from my husband's subordinates.

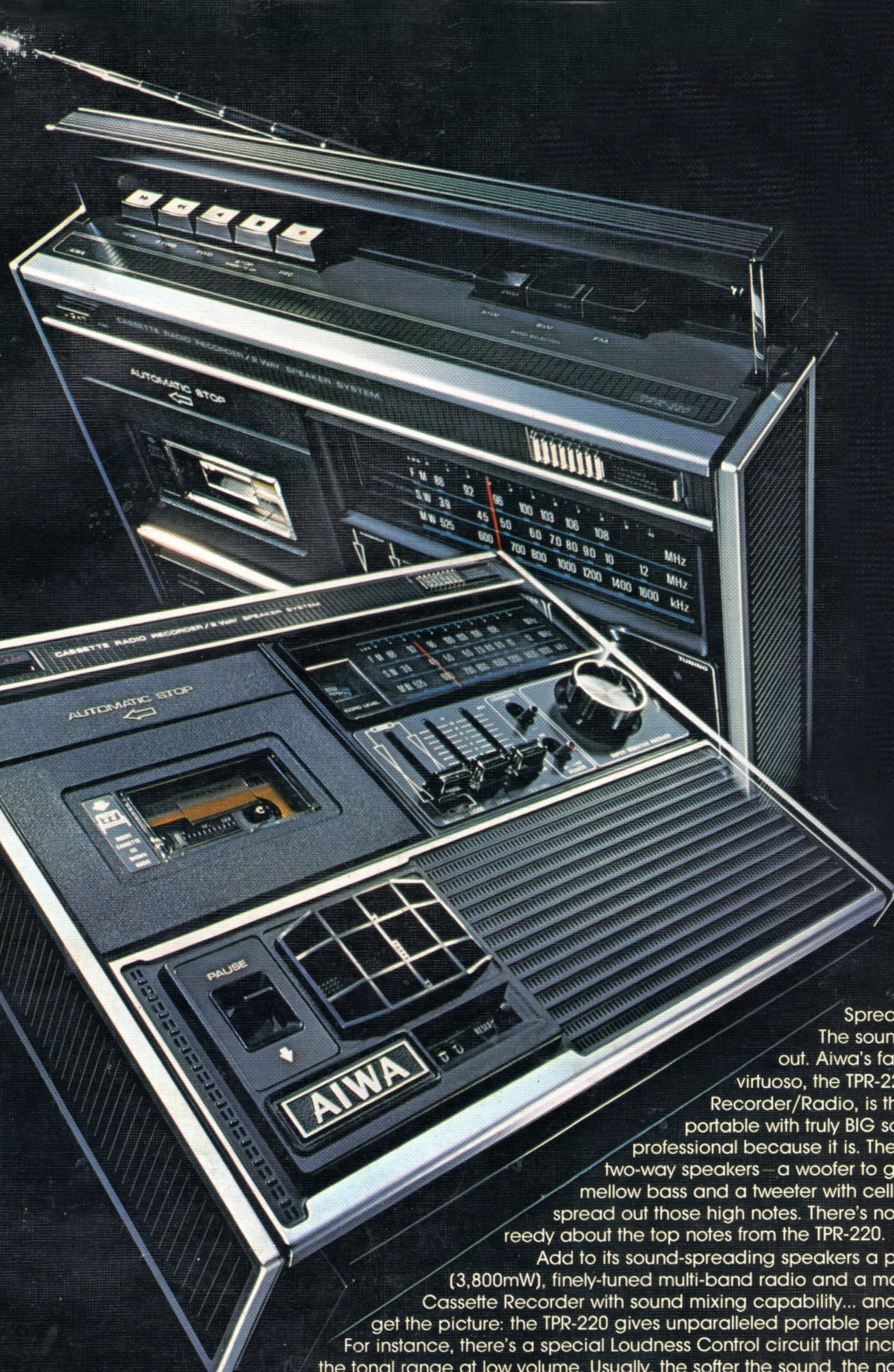
"With the insignificant salary paid to a public official even if he is a Division Chief, we found it quite impossible to make a return present to each of the givers. I was afraid, however, that to receive all these presents and not make any return might be regarded as something like bribery. So my mother-in-law and I took some of these heavy articles to the department store to change for exchange tickets. We used these tickets to get other articles for return gifts. Some articles like foodstuffs could not be exchanged, though. My junior high-school son was not cooperative; he kept, saying 'That will affect our reputation.' As a result, our small house was like the foodshopping section of a department store, and we didn't even have room to eat our meals. My son's study looked like a warehouse. Whenever an earthquake occurred, we rushed to a huge pile of gifts, shouting 'Here comes a land-slide!' and nearly went crazy trying to keep them from falling, when the tremor passed we had to pile all the ones that had dropped back up again.

"The more we take into consideration the thought or feelings behind each gift, the more we feel the necessity to value it; it is really absurd to throw it out like so much rubbish. But I feel that it would be rude to the giver to portion it out among our neighbors.

"My husband did not drink much in former days, but recently the habit of drinking has grown on him since he can drink free, as much as he likes, any time at home. Seeing him drink like that makes me all the more disgusted with the custom of *o-chūgen*."

Of course, at the same time there are wives of an entirely different type who are delighted to receive lost of presents and, looking around with satisfaction at the heap of gifts, congratulate themselves on their perspicacious choice in husbands. 東

Long before o-chūgen comes around, each department store sets up huge sales counters just for chūgen presents.



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Pillar of the Economy
The Bank of Japan

The yen has ridden to familiarity among Europeans and Americans on the crest of the waves set up by the recent disturbances in international monetary exchange. The Bank of Japan is the organ that issues yen notes and supervises the national monetary policies. Throughout its ninety years of history, the Bank of Japan has played an indispensable role in the development of a Japanese economy modeled after the capitalistic institutions of Europe and the United States. It also played an influential part in the reconstruction of Japan during the post-war decades. At the moment, the Bank of Japan finds itself compelled to muster its forces in a rigorous fight against mounting inflation as do the central banks of many Western countries. Moreover, it faces another major monetary difficulty. In spite of the yen revaluations effected twice already in the past few years, the currency is still too strong and continues to effect a balance of payments extremely favorable to Japan which necessitates international adjustment. Many eyes are pinned on the Bank of Japan, anxious to see what measures it will undertake to maintain the value of the yen and at the same time stabilize the exchange rate.

A Central Support For Modernization

THE HEAD OFFICE of the Bank of Japan is located at Hongokuchō, Nihonbashi (a part of downtown Tōkyō), its white exterior a picture of dignified splendor. In contrast, the older wing is built of granite classic style and crowned with a patinated copper dome. Across the street stands the Bank of Tōkyō which is the authorized institution of foreign exchange; diagonally across, it faces on the largest department store in Japan, the main branch of Mitsukoshi Department Store. In the feudal days of the Edo Period, the area was called the *kinza* or "mint for gold coins," so its connection with monetary affairs dates back considerably. The old building of the bank is modeled after the palladian architectural style of the Renaissance era, in particular after the style of the National Bank of Belgium, for it was the Bank of Belgium that supplied the organizational for the Bank of Japan.

The governor of the Bank of Japan has practically been worshipped as a kind of "Japanese Pope," so influential is his position. In times when the bank exhibited monumental power over other banks and industrial circles, the comparison was not too far from reality. The third governor of the bank, Kawada Koichirō, is still remembered for his imperious wielding of authority. When he wished to give important instructions to the Minister of Finance he summoned the Minister to his private mansion and delivered his commands. Conversely, other sectors attach little importance to the governorship, jokingly referring to the governor as "the Chief of the Bureau of the Bank of Japan, Ministry of Finance," or even worse, "the Chief of the Bank of Japan Section of the Banking Bureau, Ministry of Finance." These names are meant to call attention to the subordinate status of Bank of Japan with respect to the government and its inability to act as a truly autonomous body in monetary policy making. The true status of the governorship lies somewhere between these extremes, something close to the Pope as far as banking institutions and the industrial world are concerned and something equal to no more than a bureau chief in the eyes of the government. The discontented sector of Japanese financial circles tends to emphasize the latter nickname, complaining of the Bank of Japan's resourcelessness in dealing with the recent near-breakdown of the international monetary system and skyrocketing inflation at home.

The Bank of Japan was established in 1882 as the central bank of the nation modeled on the framework of the National Bank of Belgium Acts. At that time Japan had just stepped out of the feudal period into a modern capitalistic economy. The sloughing-off was accompanied by a painful internal conflict known as the Seinan engagement (the Satsuma rebellion against the central government, led by Saigō Takamori in 1877; see Great Generals, previous issue) that caused much disorder in a country just entering into modernization. In the confusion of the domestic war, national banks of various regions overissued banknotes. The government did the same, issuing excessive government notes to procure sufficient funds for military expenditures. This resulted in galloping inflation and

the Bank of Japan was instigated to offset it. The newly established institution was entrusted with the tasks of subduing the inflation, establishing a sound system for issuing currency, and structuring the nationwide markets under a unified system. The Japanese government conceived of the Bank of Japan as a reservoir to accumulate capital for modernization of the industries, whereas the central banks of some Western nations such as the Bank of England or Riks Bank of Sweden grew naturally with the development of capitalism in the 19th century to occupy the central position in their countries. The early leaders of the Bank of Japan were high ranking officers of the Ministry of Finance and influential figures in the great industrial combines known as *zaibatsu*. From this fact alone, it is clear that the Bank of Japan was established and developed by the government, in other words "from above," and that the industrial and business enterpreneurs wished to benefit from the funding provided by Bank of Japan and the protection extended by the government.

The Bank of Japan withdrew the government notes from circulation by exchanging them for silver. Then in 1885, it began to issue convertible banknotes on the silver standard. The world at the time was dominated by the gold standard, hence Japan found it advisable to follow suit and switched from a silver to a gold base. Victory in the Sino-Japanese War (1894–95) enabled Japan to collect an enormous sum in war reparations from Ch'ing China. Payment was rendered in British sterling which Japan converted into gold and used to mint gold coins. Adoption of the gold standard placed Japan on common monetary ground with the Western nations, thereby facilitating the inflow of foreign capital.

When the United States placed an embargo on gold, Japan followed the same line and discontinued conversion of paper money into gold. The embargo was lifted temporarily in 1930, but again gold was prohibited from export a year later in 1931. Since then the Bank of Japan has maintained a "managed currency system" as the guardian of its inconvertible currency.

The Financial Pope

Of particular note in the history of the Bank of Japan's activities are the generous credit it accorded to the city banks and the resultant creation of business capital. When Japan made her first step into a capitalistic economy in the late 19th century, she had next to no accumulated capital. Industry, of course, is impossible to build without capital. Since there was no capital available from the private sources, the government had first to prime the pump by creating and managing a modern industry. Inspired business enterprises borrowed funds from the city banks and city banks in turn from the Bank of Japan. The pattern already discernible at the beginning—with business groups constantly overborrowing and the banks lending beyond the secure level in anticipation of the development of the companies they finance—has been characteristic of the Japanese economy throughout. The colossal loans that the Bank of Japan has extended to the city banks are what has supported the rapid growth of the Japanese economy.

The process of speeding up the industrial revolution to catch up with the advanced West necessitated far more capital than became available by growth in bank deposits. The overall operating expenses of the city banks, such as monies dispensed for loans and investments on security bonds, generally supersede their initial capital and deposits. The difference is almost without exception covered by the loans on credit from the Bank of Japan—the reason why this bankers' bank has towered like a ruling monarch with its authority and influence over the Japanese industrial world.

The Bank of Japan has acted as a "savior" when recessions have struck at the nation's economy. In the crisis of 1920 after the First World War, in the panic that followed the Great Earthquake of 1923, and again in the world depression that started in 1927, the bank devoted its efforts to rescuing local banks and industries from collapse with the dedication of a charity organization. When Yamaichi Securities Corporation, one of the major four securities companies in Japan, was so badly hit that it was nearing bankruptcy, and the Japanese business world was fast dissolving into chaos, the super-bank came to the rescue. At that time the Bank of Japan extended emergency loans of over 20 billion yen to Yamaichi and approximately 60 billion yen to other securities companies. It may be hard to believe, but this crisis occurred only eight years ago in 1965.

Building A Post-War Nation

As Japan moved into second place in the Free World in terms of GNP, the fantastic rapid growth of her post-war economy astounded the world. Today as everyone knows, Japanese color TVs, cameras, and automobiles are streaming into the American and European markets. The rehabilitation of her economy to this amazing level after the devastation wrought by World War II owes greatly to the policies

undertaken by the Bank of Japan.

Japan lost all her national wealth in the War. The capital resources of financial and business institutions also dropped to zero. The only possibility for recovery lay in funds borrowed from the Bank of Japan. The Bank of Japan not only issued bank notes but rendered guidance to city banks in their policies for financing industries and thereby stimulated economic rehabilitation and further development in the direction the government and Bank of Japan desired. This is another reason for the paramount influence the Bank of Japan exerts over Japanese economic circles.

It was as late as the end of 1971 that Japanese city banks finally managed to recoup their losses incurred through chronically excessive loans to business enterprises and to gain relief from the chronic unsound dependence on the Bank of Japan. They achieved this mainly through abundant circulation of collateral accumulated by Japanese industries from the rapid increases in foreign reserves, particularly dollar reserves from the mushrooming trade surplus. This phenomenon has been in evidence only for the past year and half. As far as foreign trade goes, it is an open secret that until recently the Bank of Japan has attempted to encourage exports by guaranteeing cheap financing to the related enterprises.

The Bank of Japan is also responsible for stabilizing and adjusting the foreign exchange rate. In 1949 when President Dodge of the Bank of Detroit came to Japan as the chief advisor to the Supreme Commander for Allied Powers and presented the nine basic principles of economic stabilization to the Japanese government, the exchange rate was fixed at 360 yen to the U.S. dollar. The single exchange rate remained pegged at 360 yen =U.S. $1 for twenty-two years until the yen was floated in August, 1971 and the rate revised upward in December of the same year to 308 yen to the dollar. According to the international agreement reached at the Smithsonian Institute, the yen was revalued by 16.88%. Then on February 13th of this year, the world monetary system moved toward a floating exchange rate again, triggered by the 10% dollar devaluation. In substance that meant upward valuation of the yen, and by early April the upward fluctation recorded the exchange rate of around 265 yen for one greenback. In short, the yen has experienced over 36% revaluation in less than two years.

While the value of yen has constantly climbed upward, the Bank of Japan has bought an incredible amount of dollars to support it. Due to the Bank's intervention, the loss from the difference in quotations in a half-year period from October, 1971 to March, 1972 reached the astonishing sum of 450.8 billion yen. Consequently, the closing balance sheets of the Bank of Japan showed red figures for the first time in its history. The bank that constantly ranked highest in corporate income was finally booted out of its supremacy by the recent sharp fluctuations in the exchange rate.

The Bank of Japan is a special institution established by the Bank of Japan Law of 1942. The law stipulated its authorized capital at 100 million yen, half of which represented a government outlay. The present governor, Mr. Sasaki, is the 22nd person to hold the seat. The top management consists of the governor, the vice-governor, and other members of the board of directors. Separate from the management, the highest decision-making group of the institution is the Policy Board. This Board is comprised of seven representatives,

The Japan Bank is an imposing building located in central Tōkyō's Nihonbashi district.

namely: the governor of the bank, representatives from the Ministry of Finance, the Economic Planning Agency, city banks, local banks, commercial and industrial circles and agriculture respectively. Other than its head office in Tōkyō, the Bank of Japan has 32 branch offices in major cities plus 13 managerial offices and many agents throughout Japan. It also stations liaison personnel in New York and London to maintain regular communications with the central banks of other nations.

Close Ties With The Government

THE BANK OF Japan does not appear so distinctly different as far as its purpose, role, system for decision-making, and its relation with the government go from the central banks of other countries, say those in England, Germany, the U.S., France, Italy, and so on. As has already been stated, its development differs somewhat in the sense that the bank was initiated by the government while many in European countries started out as local banks and grew until they came to be acknowledged as central banks.

The Bank of Japan, just like any other central bank, is responsible for stabilization of its currency at home and in the world at large since it is the sole institution authorized to issue money. Its special

features as a bank of issue and bankers' bank make it "the lender of last resort," that is, where city banks go to make deposits or obtain loans. It also functions as the bank for the government: the Bank of Japan lends necessary funds to the government, thus working as the government's instrument of monetary policies. In a way it represents the government through a chain of monetary policies concerned with controlling the official bank rate, open market operations, and enforcing the reserve deposit requirement system. Of course the above stated functions are assumed by any central bank, so the general role is about the same. What are different, then, are the specific cases in decision-making and the already activated monetary policies, and the subtle nuances of its relations with the government.

In decision-making process, the Policy Board has the final say on important matters such as operation of the central bank rate, a power reserved in many Western countries for the board of directors. However, since the board consists of representatives from various economic areas, the difference may be nominal. Nor is there much difference from nation to nation when the central bank is viewed as an administrative organ either except that the Federal Reserve Board of the United States functions only administratively as a decision-making organ.

The principle of the monetary policies does not vary a great deal in a capitalistic economy; during times of overexuberance in the economy, inflation also creeps in to necessitate a boost in the official rate and deposit reserve ratio; this serves to absorb the excess circulation of currencies. Though this principle may be the same in Japan and the West, it is practiced with much greater regularity in this country. Where the deposit reserve ratio is concerned, the requirement in Japan is as low as only 2–3%, while the central banks in France and Germany require an average of 10–15%. Moreover, in the case of the French central bank, the reserve deposit requirement is combined with another reserve requirement on outstanding loans. This latter system works by absorbing excess money circulation, requiring the debtor bank to deposit a required amount appraised by multiplying some constant percentage with the outstanding account. By this method, the excess liquidity which is the most alarming trigger for inflation can be eliminated. What was once called the special bag of the Bank of Japan—"window guidance" (see Vol. VIII No. 8)—is now gaining due popularity in other countries. Window guidance is a practice whereby the central bank gives direct instructions to its customer banks regarding the ceiling on their loans to business circles. Thereby the central bank excercizes sufficient control over the flow of money from city banks to industries, and ultimately adjusts the currency in circulation to assure adequate liquidity. This guidance is conducted as a supplementary measure when upping the official rate and deposit reserve ratio shows no appreciable effect. Sometimes, the method is singularly applied to tighten belts. The Bank of Japan initiated such guidance and still frequently practices it.

The most touchy area in the central bank operation lies in its relationship with the government: what is called the neutrality and autonomy of the central bank. In the case of the Bank of Japan, it is under the supervison of the Minister of Finance who is entitled to issue orders to the Bank of Japan when he deems necessary. Specifically, such governmental supervision is seen in the nomination of top management posts: the governor, and the vice-governor are nominated by the cabinet, the board of directors by the Minister of Finance, and four members of the Policy Board by the cabinet with the consent of the upper and lower houses. The autonomy of the Bank of Japan is maintained at a certain level and this appears in the way monetary policies are activated. First the bank consults with the Ministry of Finance, then the subject matter is sent to the Policy Board for final approval. In extremely important decisions such as bank rate fluctuations, the bank's independence and autonomy may not be duly respected, because the decision is often influenced by the political climate of the time. The question, therefore, arises as to what extent its neutrality and autonomy are respected and to what extent cooperation with the government is promoted in carrying out the national monetary policies that are, by nature, closely linked with the government's overall economic policies.

Little structural difference exists among the central banks of various countries except for a certain feature of Deutsche Bundesbank, the central bank of west Germany. They regard their cooperation with the government in economic policy-making as a matter of course, but stabilization of one country's monetary system requires quite special management. Hence, they believe that the government should not interfere with the autonomous decisions made by the central bank on critical monetary policies other than asking the bank to reconsider the government's opinions. In short, the Bundesbank is perfectly independent from the government as far as monetary policies are concerned.

Problems To Face

THE BANK OF Japan faces a heap of problems today on two fronts—domestic and international.

Internationally, it must stabilize the value of the world's strongest currency, the yen, and domestically, counteract the inflation crisis. In the past few years, the value of yen has climbed up about 100 yen, and it is still floating. If this floatation goes on much longer, inevitably the yen will be upvalued even higher. It is feared that any further floatation of yen would hamper foreign trade and have a heavily detrimental influence on the Japanese economy. Thus, the Bank of Japan is said to be facing an exigent phase of the international monetary problem, and is anticipated to steer the situation back to the pegged exchange rate.

A fixed exchange yen rate will automatically stabilize the economy to a certain extent, but not sufficient to combat the domestic problems. Since last fall, inflation has been rampant. It blazed up with the skyrocketing wholesalers' prices and was fanned by investments in land, stock, and market commodities accompanying momentary capital surpluses. The Bank of Japan has raised the bank rate twice already early this year. Again in April, it announced a sharp raise in the official rate—an indication that it is going all out in the war against inflation. Despite the anti-inflationary efforts, prices continued to climb in an inflationary chain reaction from abroad, dilating the national budget and making it altogether harder for the Bank of Japan to come up with workable solutions to the current monetary problems. Particularly in the area of the national budget, the Bank of Japan is urged to advise and request the government not to make business-stimulating expenditures that will counteract the monetary policies of the Bank. In time of imperative need for anti-inflationary policies, Japanese society is watching attentively to see how far the Bank of Japan can move the government along the line of its policies.

Another problem that the Bank of Japan has been facing for a long period of time is its legal framework. The existing Bank of Japan Law was promulgated in the middle of World War II in 1942. It cannot be denied that the law retains some overtones of Japanese wartime philosophy reflected in the clauses that stipulated the purpose of its founding. Phrases like, "in accordance with the policy of the state and for a coordinated development of all economic forces of the Japanese nation. . . ," and ". . .administered exclusively for the accomplishment of national aims," sound outdated and repellingly reminiscent of wartime phraseology. Therefore new laws have been suggested to match the post-war economic and national philosophy. The move toward legal amendment has been voiced many times since the war. In 1955, the Research Committee on Financial Systems attempted a thorough investigation of the existing law and presented a report suggesting changes, which unfortunately never materialized. The only improvement achieved in the legal set-up of the Bank of Japan so far has been the creation of the Policy Board of the Bank of Japan in 1949. Recently this issue was taken up by the Diet, and the present governor of the bank, Mr. Sasaki, expressed his opinion that the law should be amended. As long as the state declares its aims to be pursuit of the well-being of the people and the society, it cannot allow the wartime law to stand without modification.

In any case, the Bank of Japan is currently facing a major trial. Never has its ability to cope with the yen floatation and inflation or to build a real welfare state been put to the test as it is today. And only when it resolves these mounting problems will it fulfill the purposes of a central bank—vested with the responsibility to stabilize and maintain the value of the national, and international currency.

AT THE REGULAR press conference of April 11, the governor of the Bank of Japan, Mr. Sasaki, expressed his views thusly: "The Bank of Japan Law was promulgated during the War, and a number of the articles stipulated then do not accord with the demands of the present world situation; they require careful consideration and revision." Supposedly the "protector of currency," the Bank of Japan, missed its timing in the recent upping of the official rate, inviting a sharp upswing in inflation. This indicates that the Bank of Japan was hampered from swift movement by conflicting political pressures. The Bank of Japan Law, or what is sometimes called the "financial constitution," might be partially to blame for the delay, because the law stipulates that the bank should give the first priority to "national aims." Hence the governor's intention is that the Bank of Japan should achieve stricter neutrality by clarifying its role as solely that of "money watchman for the people." The governor also stated that consideration must be given to the question of "when to amend the laws" and noted that further negotiation with the Ministry of Finance is necessary on this matter. In response the Minister of Finance agreed that some changes may be called for but asserted rather negatively that the situation could be met administratively for the time being. In any event the statement made by Mr. Sasaki should stimulate further dialogue among financial circles.

From Mainichi Shinbun, *April 12, 1973*

Fukuda Yasuhiko, master flute-maker, continues to make the equivalent to a Stradivarius in flutes.

Preservers of the Tradition
The Flutemaker

GAGAKU IS COURT music played following the procedure of time-honoured rites on formal occasions at the Imperial Court, Shintō shrines, or Buddhist temples. It was introduced to Japan from China about 1,300 years ago. In China, the place of its origin, however, it has become extinct. To hear it now you must go to Japan, where gagaku has been handed down from generation to generation exactly as it was 1,300 years ago. A musical reminiscence of ancient times which only Japan has inherited, gagaku is deprecated by some as "a musical fossil" and revered by many as "a musical miracle."

It is no easy matter to preserve a musical tradition exactly while 1,300 years are passing. The most surprising fact about this "musical miracle" is, firstly, that for all the 1,300 years since its introduction families of gagaku musicians have handed down their music as a hereditary profession, so that we can know it more accuracy than we can the Imperial family. Secondly, makers of various musical instruments to be used in *gagaku* music have stuck to the same methods just like its musicians so the instruments played today are the same as those first instruments, and the procedures for making them have undergone no change since the first day on which they were made in Japan.

One of such instrument makers is Fukuda Yasuhiko, the only great living master of gagaku flute-making.

An Exacting Craft

NISHIJIN IN Kyōto has been famed, from old times for its gorgeous silk fabrics like nishiki-ori or tsuzure-ori (rich figured silk fabric with raised patterns in gold and silver), and also as a town not only for weavers but various other

craftsmen as well. The house of master flute-maker Fukuda Yasuhiko is located here in Nishijin.

Yasuhiko is 48 years old this year. He is surrounded in his workroom with many pieces of *shino-daké*, long, thin bamboo cylinders, and such tools as brushes and files to be used specially for making flutes which are laid out in a very casual way. In this room he creates modern flutes as good as the masterpieces of all ages.

In his free time, he visits old straw-thatched houses in the suburbs of Kyōto, looking around for the rare bamboo which is singularly suited to making flutes. When he finds one, he pokes his head in the doorway, and asks with earnest politeness, "I am making flutes of bamboo like what you've used in the ceiling of your house. When you repair this house please let me have the bamboo. They are very valuable as material for flutes which play an important part in *gagaku* music."

The shino-daké that grows on the northern bank of Lake Biwa is the best quality bamboo for flutes of this kind. Unlike ordinary bamboo, it is almost straight with no swellings at the nodes, and the sections between nodes are very long. Bamboo which has just been split at a bamboo thicket can not be used, but first of all, must be applied to the ceiling or dirt floor of a strawthatched country house and let stand for about 150 years, until it turns black with smoke and soot. In the process, the bamboo becomes completely seasoned and at the same time is rendered safe from vermin and from warping. If used in the ceiling for more than 200 years, it will become too fragile or if for less than 100 years, it will be warped through imperfect drying.

Recently, however, very few straw-thatched houses are to be seen in farm villages. "I am now really having great trouble in collecting materials," Yasuhiko says.

Once he has located suitable bamboo, he cuts it according to the size of the flute he is going to make. The common gagaku flute called a *ryūteki* is 36 centimeters long; a flute for *Kagura* (sacred

shrine music) 46; and a short flute for *Koma-gaku* (gagaku tradition introduced from Korea), 33. Then the holes are located measuring with a rule; a ryūteki had seven holes; a flute for Kagura or for Koma-gaku has six. The holes are bored with a knife and careful concentration. After the first boring, the angle of the bamboo must be changed, then he moves on to the second boring. He continues to change the angle and bore, change the angle and bore, until the holes begin to take shape. When all the holes are roughly bored, he produces sounds, experimenting with the holes one after another and adjusting each hole for the correct musical pitch. While he is at it, he corrects the shape and size of each hole.

The standard sounds of gagaku music are based on the *dō-no-ritsukan*, which was brought into Japan by Kibi no Makibi, a statesman and scholar of the Nara Period who visited T'ang China as a Japanese envoy. This first pitch pipe is now in keeping at the Imperial Palace. The dō-no-ritsukan is composed of 12 copper pipes of different length which indicate the musical scale of gagaku. Gagaku music has always been played on the basis of this scale. The cycle of its basic sound is 430, while that of the basic note A in western music is 440. This dō-no-ritsukan, however, may never be taken out of the Imperial Palace, and so Yasuhiko uses a tuning fork made especially for gagaku music in its place. Continually checking the sound produced by a hole by flipping the tuning fork, he bores the holes to the exact shape and size. This is the moment that places the most strain on his his nerves.

The holes completed, he mixes lacquer with a water solution of polishing powder to produce what we call the ground or *ji* (地). Then, with a long and slender spatula he applies the ji to the inner side of the slender bamboo pipe, making sure to preserve an even thickness. When the surface of the ji has dried, he polishes it until it becomes smooth using a stick with a whetstone as small as the point on a fountain pen attached to its tip. Then the ji is applied once more over the polished surface, and he begins polishing in exactly the same manner as before. This process, the most onerous part of making a flute, may be repeated from three to 20 times for a slender bamboo pipe, and 20 to 100 times for a thick one. Moreover, some bamboo break apart while the ji is drying, for it swells as it dries, imposing a severe strain on the bamboo. On an average, one third of the bamboo cylinders will be damaged this way.

When the inner side of the bamboo pipe is completely polished in the way mentioned above, the next process is to give it several coats of vermilion lacquer with a long and slender brush. In general this is not so difficult, but finishing with a uniform as well as glossy surface on the inside is no easy task, for it depends rather on how to dry than on how to paint lacquer.

Vermilion-lacquered bamboo pipes are laid on the middle shelf fastened horizontally within a wooden box called a *fūro*, a kind of vessel at the bottom of which are spread several strips of wet cotton cloth. Both temperature and humidity within the fūro directly affect the ji and the vermilion lacquer applied to the inside, in the course of their drying. A bamboo pipe which has dried either too early or too late is of no use. Inadvertent handling at this point can leave wrinkles on the surface of the inside. The bamboo pipes are laid in the fūro for two to three days in summer and for four to five days in winter. Once bamboo pipes are laid in the fūro, Yasuhiko spends all day watching them, with no time to go to bed at night. He has to change the position of the bamboo pipe at least once every 20 minutes to keep the application of the vermilion lacquer even and uniform, which is of great importance in making a good flute.

So far he has only made the main body of the flute. The last stage is to give it form as a flute; the flute's head is attached and cherry tree bark is wrapped around the body; both are held with glue. He polishes up the whole surface with a scoring rush and leaves of the muku tree (*Aphananthe aspera*) and, there at last we have a flute! It takes more than a year to make the equivalent to a stradivarius in a flute.

Many people, could be hard put on seeing the long drawn-out procedure involved in making flutes of this kind to keep from throwing up their hands: "How troublesome! How non-scientific! How can he stand doing that over and over again!" There is no need for twisting one's hand in various ways to polish the inside surface of the bamboo pipe for carrying a stick with a small whetstone attached to its tip, no need to cover one's finger with calluses, for a dozen of other polishing agents are always available with which give a better finish more quickly. Moreover, as for the ji made by the mixture of polishing powder with lacquer, he does not have to bother to use it anymore. He can easily obtain any number of chemical paints which dry much faster.

Yet Yasuhiko observes quietly: "Certainly we can make a flute by using up-to-date machines or materials, but flutes made that way are not real flutes. Just as the flute has a form handed down for generations from ancient times, so the way of making it also has a form. I believe this is what 'tradition' means. Let me leave everything modern and new to other people. For me, I would rather stick to this form of flute making, as long as I live."

It is not long since Yasuhiko became a great master of flute-making. The same man who is preserving the characteristic form of flute-making today was a chemist eight years ago.

Call of the Generations

THE FUKUDAS have been masters of flute-making for generations. Awata no Mahito, one of Yasuhiko's remote ancestors, is said to have introduced the flute for gagaku music and the way of making it from China to Japan in the Nara Period. Kinnosuke, Yasuhiko's father, too, attained a mastery of flute-making, having received thorough study and training under his father from childhood. Yasuhiko was born and raised, as the eldest son, to succeed to his father's profession. Yet he paid no attention to flutes nor did he evidence any interest in knowing the ways to make, play, and hold the flute. Yasuhiko as a boy had a handering for places far away in the vast Pacific Ocean and dreamed of digging oil wells some day around a certain South Sea island. At that time his father appeared to him as a man who lived in an extremely limited, tradition-bound world.

Leaving everything about his father's business up to his younger brother Mitsushigé, Yasuhiko studied petrochemistry at the university, and in 1947 got a job with a big chemical industry as a chemical engineer. The job assigned to him there was to research the possibilities of applying the results from laboratory tests to mass production in the factory. Yasuhiko succeeded in adapting Vitamin K_1, known as a hemostatic, to industrial preparation which provided a big boost for the company, and so he was promoted to a section chief.

On the other hand, he younger brother Mitsushige who succeeded to his father's occupation was a man with a genius for making as well as playing the flute. With a weak constitution, fine sensibilities, and natural perfect pitch, he created such a high-valued flute that it must be called an exquisite work of art. On a very cold day of February in 1963, however, Mitsushigé took his own life at the early age of 33, with two flutes, which he had just been making, left beside him at his workroom. He had entertained so lefty an ideal about flute-making and imposed so difficult a task on himself that he came to the end of his tether, and this eventually led him to kill himself. Lionized as a prodigy, Mitsushige died a martyr to his own idealism. Yasuhiko was deeply shocked at his younger brother's suicide, and later published the poem entitled "Etenraku" in his memory. "Etenraku" is one of the most famous surviving pieces of gagaku music.

Gagaku concert held this April 28, at Meiji Shrine

The stones rained down
the youth stared upward above
his head
the heavens were playing the
Etenraku
the youth made a flute

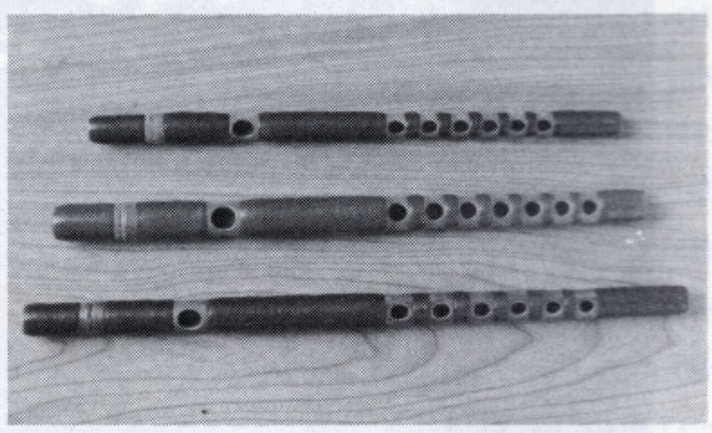
the stones rained down
the youth ran quickly
four times did the heavens
receive
the flute the youth had offered up
and with it his music in the
peaceful mode
the stones rained down in torrents
the youth fell down and died,
the corners of his mouth still
dyed with red
and his face turned straight
toward heaven

the snow came down

Losing his only successor, their father Kinnosuke was overtaken by deep sorrow. In an attempt to console his father in his grief as much as possible, Yasuhiko began to study flute-making, sitting beside his father at night and working in the company during the day. Yet in his mind, he never suspected that he would become a flute-maker nor did it occur to him that he had had any ability to do so. While living this double life as an office worker and flute-maker at the same time, he got thinner and thinner until he was but a shadow of his former self when he had weighed 80 kilograms. A callus was forming on the little finger of his right hand from rubbing the knife on it too much. The only callus he ever had on the same finger before came from using a pen.

In 1967, his father was struck with a heart attack. Fortunately it did not prove fatal, but he was strictly forbidden by the doctor to do any work. Yet, disregarding the doctor's advice, he continued to work till late at night, fastening his trembling body to a pillar. The fear that, if no person who could make a flute like himself, a tiadition lasting for over a thousand years might die out drove him from his bed to the workshop. Yasuhiko was deeply impressed by his father's urgent dedication. He decided that however hard the work might be he would have to succeed to his father's occupation.

Before long, Yasuhiko handed in his resignation to the company where he had served for 20 years, with the determination to start his new career as a flute-maker. Loathe to lose such an able chemist the company persuaded him to stay on, promising him the post of division chief. Moreover, rival companies flashed bundles of paper money before him, trying to tempt him to join them. However, the flute-maker's blood running in his veins finally asserted itself and made him



Flutes made by Fukuda Yasuhiko; komabué or flute for komagaku (upper), ryūteki (center) kagura-bué or flute for Kagura (lower)

decide to give up his stabilized life as a salaried employee and plunge into a world almost entirely new to him. He would have to study furiously; he would begin training as an utter beginner.

Eight years have passed since then and Yasuhiko has become a distinguished master of flute-making; we might call this a "miraculous success story." In the meantime, his father Kinnosuke passed away at the age of 74, in 1971; he died in peace without any anxiety about the future of gagaku music, for he was now confident that his son Yasuhiko would succeed him as a great master of flute-making.

Yasuhiko keeps a portrait of Schubert and a death mask of Beethoven in his room. They are souvenirs of the mental travels he has made through the world of Western music, which he loves deeply. He holds Dr. Schweitzer in high esteem as the greatest musical scholar ever recorded on the pages of history. He was deeply impressed by Dr. Schweitzer's words: "Musical instruments are one with the performers." The same goes for the world of flutes, Yasuhiko emphasizes. "I think for musicians creating sounds means giving vent to emotions which they cannot express in words. I am always afraid that a flute I have made may stand in the way of the performers in expressing their mental feelings." And so he struggles with each piece of bamboo at each stage of the way trying to make it closer to perfection than the last.

Gagaku musicians receive government subsidies for their living, while men who make the instruments for gagaku receive no such protection at all. Therefore, Yasuhiko's everyday life is a continuous making of flutes and the concomitant enduring of the difficulties of living. It is all the more for this that we revere both the man and his work. Perhaps they make us feel the awful dignity that resides in "tradition."

Gagaku

Gagaku 雅楽 is the name given to a kind of music imported from China through the Korean peninsula to Japan in the 6th century. At that time the Japanese nobility were very much interested in coming into contact with every facet of Chinese culture and they enthusiastically adopted the continental music and dances in the court for use on ceremonial occasions.

The Gagaku Ryō, a court bureau for administering Gagaku, was established in 701. The Gagaku Ryō divided gagaku into two classifications: the Music of the Left and the Music of the Right. The Music of the Left included music from China known as *Tōgaku* 唐楽, music from Vietnam (*Rinyūgaku* 林邑楽) and India. The Music of the Right encompassed the musical traditions of the countries of Kokuli and Paekche (Kudara) and the Korean peninsula. These forms of music have pretty much disappeared from the countries of their origin and are performed now only in Japan.

Gagaku was primarily performed by court officials. The Ué, Tsuji, Higashi, Oku, Kubo, Shiba and other families handed down the tradition of the Music of the Left, while the Music of the Right belonged to the Ōno, the Abé, the Bunno, the Yamanoi and so on. The performers of the Music on the Right resided in Kyōto, those of the Music on the Left in Nara. However, the musicians of the Right were nearly all slain in the 1466–7 Ōnin Disturbance that laid Kyōto waste, and the musicians of the temple Shitennō-ji in Osaka (Sono, Hayashi, Oka, Tōgi) were called to Kyōto to take their place. These musicians from Kyōto, Osaka and Nara composed the central current of gagaku.

In the Edo Period, the Shōgun formed his own troop of gagaku musicians, distinct from the tradition of Kyōto Court, at Momijiyama in Edo (Tokyō). Then in 1870, after the Meiji Restoration, all the gagaku musicians in the country were brought under the single control of the Imperial Household Ministry, and gagaku became a kind of music that everybody, not just the aristocracy or the ruling class, could listen to.

Today gagaku is performed on formal occasions at important shrines such as Meiji Shrine, Yasukuni Shrine, Shitennō-ji, Sumiyoshi Taisha, etc. as well as during semiannual concerts held by the Imperial Household Ministry in spring and fall. The Imperial Household Ministry stage is indoors; almost all the rest of the performances take place in the open.

A person who goes to hear gagaku for the first time cannot help but be struck by the stage. Nine *shaku* (about 91 cm) tall and four *ken* (about 7.4 m) square, the raised platform is framed by a high bright red railing. Steps about 1.8 meters wide lead up to the stage from the front center, and it is by these stairs that the dancers enter and exit from the stage.

The musicians, however, never step onto the stage. They perform throughout from their seats flanking the stage. Besides the great gayly colored drums decorated with flame ornaments on either side to the rear of the stage, the instruments used in a performance are, for Music on the Left: ryūteki, hichiriki, shō, taiko drum, shōko, kakko; and for Music on the Right; komabué, hichiriki, taiko, shōko and san-no-tsuzumi.

The majority of gagaku compositions have a dance accompaniment which is performed on the stage and are known as *bugaku* 舞楽. There are dances for one, two, four and six dancers and the movements vary from very calm dances with little motion (bun-no-mai 文舞) to dances with violent actions in which the dancers carry swords or battleaxes. The dancers may wear fierce masks or they may be dressed as pure and innocent children.

The bugaku costumes, predominantly red for Music of the Left and blue and green for Music of the Right, are truly ornate and splendid and many of the masks are quite spectacular with their vivid colors and unusual designs.

The dances themselves, however, are often extremely difficult to follow; without program notes many are impossible and in some cases even with program notes there is no way of knowing what the movements signify since the stories have been long lost and only the figures of the dance passed down through the generations. In some cases we have reasons to believe, on the basis of the form in which they have been preserved, that the dances were never understood even when they were first introduced but were merely adopted ver batim.

The formal gagaku program begins with two old men dancers coming onto the stage from left and right to dance the "*Enbu* (振鉾)." Then a piece from the Music on the Left is performed followed by a piece from the Music on the Right. They continue to alternate in fixed order. The repertoire for the Music on the Left includes over thirty pieces, that for the Music on the Right, twenty-eight or twenty-nine. After two or three alternations, the program is brought to a close with "Chōgeishi (長慶子)." The "Etenraku" referred to in the accompanying article is a famous work in the Chinese Tōgaku tradition which has no dance accompaniment and is performed by winds and strings only. Celebrated as the most elegant of all gagaku pieces, this work in "fast" (for gagaku) four time has been particularly esteemed since early times. It has also, incidentally, been orchestrated for Western orchestra and a record exists of its performance under the baton of Stokowski.

The sonorous and expansive strains of gagaku with its slow tempos and special kind of harmony calls back the world of the past for us today and takes us off into a distant world of dream, and so it continues to be played and listened to and enjoyed. 東

The Pictorial Biography of Priest Ippen

(National treasure)
Posession of Kankikō-ji Temple in Kyōto
(Volume 7 in possession of Tōkyō National Museum)
1299 (Kamakura Period)

THE KAMAKURA was not only the period which marked the emergence of the samurai class to the historical foreground as new leaders of the nation but also was an era which saw the rise of a number of Buddhist sects.

The latter part of the Heian Period disintegrated into incessant warfare and general turbulence. Moreover, continuing natural calamities and repeated famines assaulted the people, to whom neither government nor the previously established Buddhist sects offered any solace or hope. Buddhism seemed to have forgotten its religious mission, the priests simply pursuing higher prestige and riches while ignoring the masses as they eked out their miserable existence. The serious introspection by Buddhist thinkers of the time resulted in several new directions.

Hōnen (1133–1212) of the Pure Land Sect preached that people could be saved by chanting an invocation to Amida (Amitābha) Buddha; Shinran (1173–1262) developed the teachings of Hōnen into the New Pure Land Sect; and Nichiren (1222–1282) taught that invocation of the Lotus Sutra offered the road to salvation. Disclaiming temples of their own, they dressed rudely and journeyed about the land in perpetual pilgrimages to chant and appeal to all classes of people, samurai, farmers, fishermen, merchants, even street beggers. Ippen (1239–1289) is typical of the eminent priests who emerged in this period.

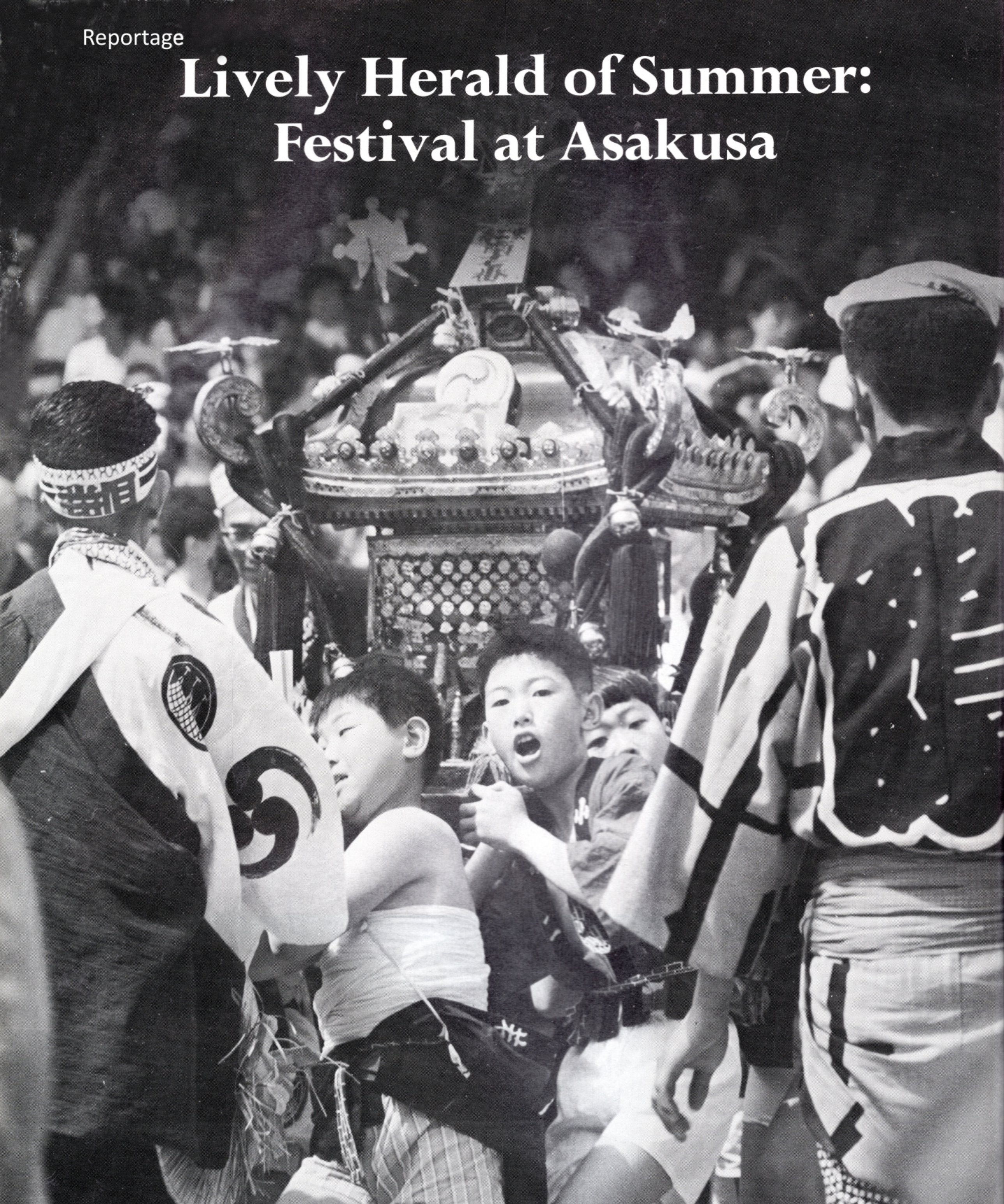
The handscrolls depict the life of Ippen. According to the postcript explanation, Seikai wrote the biography of Ippen in 1299, ten years after his death, and En-i painted the illustrations. The handscrolls possessed by Kankikō-ji in Kyōto are of the finest artistic quality among the extant twelve differing versions. Seikai was a close relative of Ippen (his brother or nephew), and he seems to have accompanied Ippen everywhere. Hence Seikai succeeded in presenting the image of Ippen both as a great saint and an ordinary man. En-i also seems to have kept company with Ippen on his journeys and produced 48 pictorial sections for the handscrolls which are rich in lyricism. He portrayed with the artist's penetrating eye, the places they visited, views of the temples and the lives of the people.

For the most part, En-i followed the traditional method of depiction called Yamato-e style that was handed down from the Heian Period, but some traces of influence from the ink painting schools newly introduced from China are evident in the depiction of mountains and trees and in the treatment of the space through use of the mist.

The picture presented here is taken from the 7th volume. It depicts the scene of Ippen coming into Kyōto for the first time, there to gain outstanding reputation and popularity among the people of the city. 園

Reportage

Lively Herald of Summer: Festival at Asakusa



Located on the banks of the Sumidagawa which is one of the major rivers flowing through Tōkyō, shitamachi, "lower Tōkyō," has been a bristling center of shopowners and craftsmen since the Edo Period. Facing on the Sumidagawa, the Asakusa district sprang up around the popular temple of Sensō-ji (Asakusa-dera) enshrining the famous Kannon, widespread object of worship since before the Edo Period. All kinds of entertainments gathered here—top-spinning gamblers, performing monkeys, story-tellers, musicians, side shows—and people gathered here to find diversion from their everyday labors. When movies made their entrance on the Japanese scene, almost overnight the other entertainments were replaced by movie theaters and disappeared nearly completely. The endless variety of jostling shops lining the arcade known as Nakamisé near the temple testify to the undiminishing popularity of the area.

While the Tōkyō around it continues to metamorphose at a dizzying speed, Asakusa preserves the old feeling of shitamachi perhaps more faithfully than anywhere else. It is here in Asakusa that the great festival known as the Sanja

The excitement of the matsuri reaches a peak as the three big mikoshi tilt and weave their way to the shrine. Photographs by Takasō Yoshio

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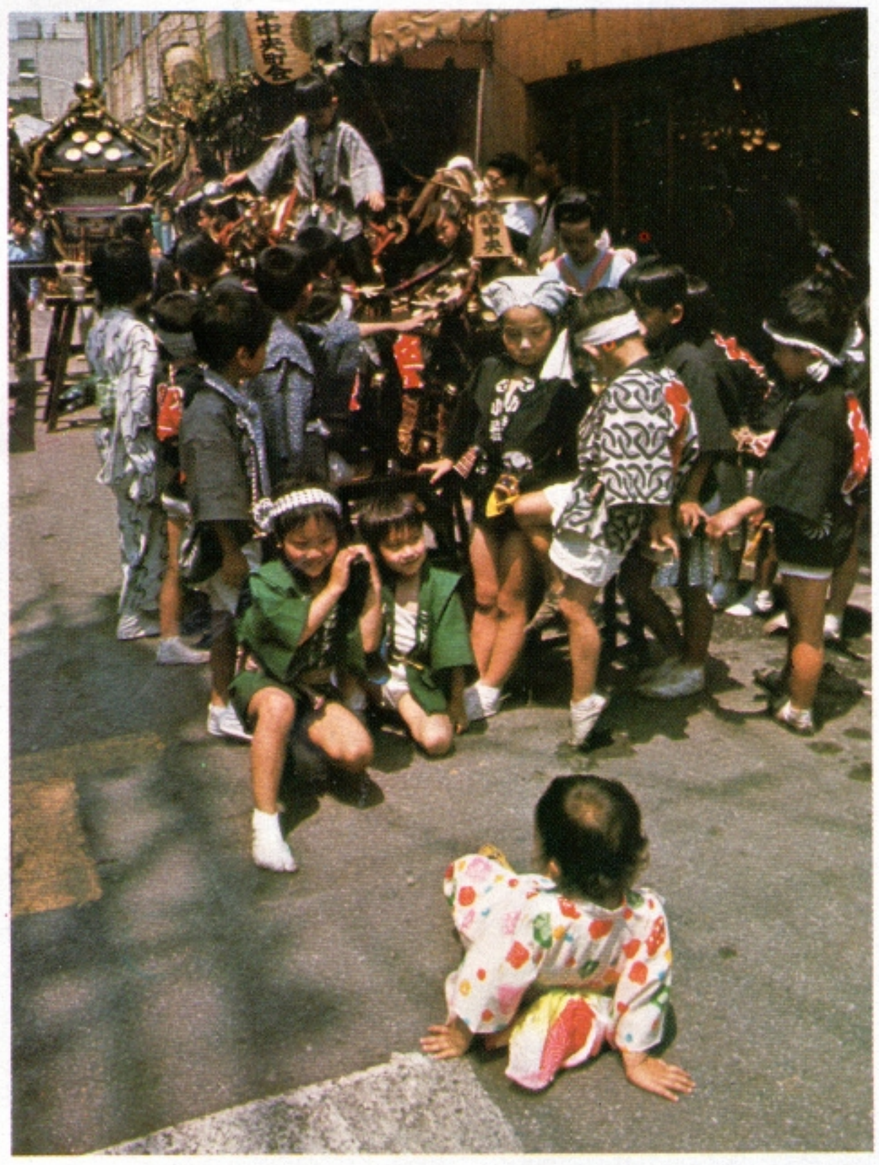

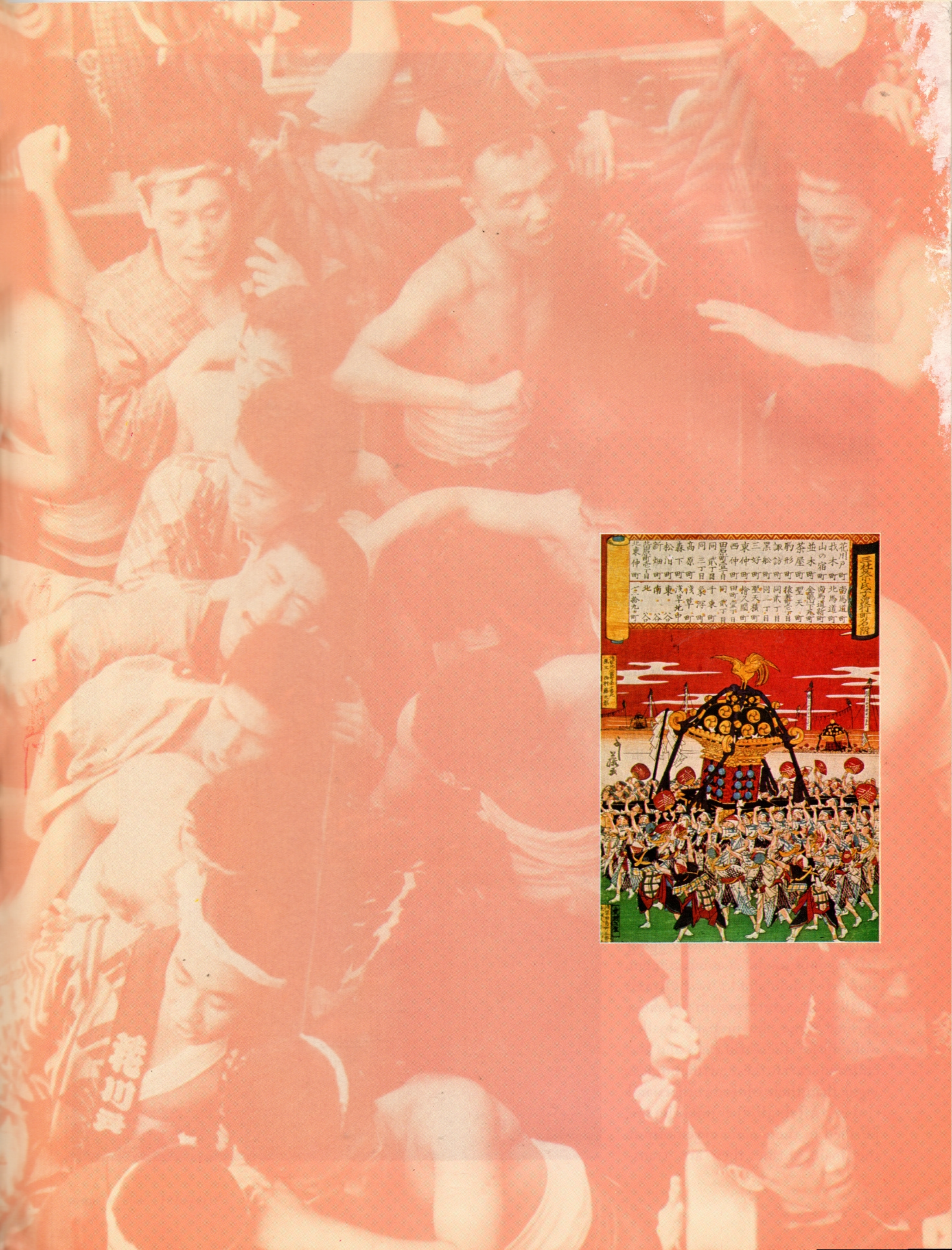
三社祭氏子渡行町名附
花川戸町
抜木町
山の宿町
並木町
茶屋町
駒形町
諏訪町
黒船町
三好町
東仲町
西仲町
田原町壹丁目
同貳丁目
同三丁目
高原町
森下町
松清町
新畑町
北東仲町
南馬道町
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聖天横町
檜久間町
田町壹丁目
同貳丁目
千束町
象浮町
浅草町
浅草北中
東谷
南谷
北谷
三拾九町

Matsuri is held for two days in the middle of May. Sanja Matsuri is one of the Three Big Festivals of Tōkyō, the other two being the Kanda Myōjin Festival and the Sannō Matsuri. Because it is held in the district which most reflects the atmosphere of the past, this festival especially abounds with all the lively gaiety of a real Japanese matsuri.

Every year on the 17th of May, Asakusa becomes even more vivacious and colorful than usual, with paper lanterns hanging from every roof inscribed with the ink characters 巴紋, *tomoé-mon* (the name of the whirlpool design crest, see cover, Vol. VIII No. 3). All the residents of the 44 *chō* (町), the divisions of the Asakusa district, come attired in gay festival dress, the young and very young in happi coats and the old in kimono. Festivals were originally significant sacred affairs but the religious meaning has been lost for the most part and now they are, first and foremost, fun.

Representatives from each chō gather together on the morning of the first day at Asakusa Shrine and receive wooden talismans, which are supposed to embody the spirits of the three guardian gods of Asakusa, in a ceremony known as *mitama-utsushi*. The representatives take these back to their chō and enshrine them in *mikoshi*, which are palanquins for the gods. These mikoshi are carried by the young people—mostly men but some girls—through the streets zigging and zagging to the accompaniment concerted shouts of "Oiya! Oiya!" Finally all converge on Asakusa Shrine. Some chō prepare smaller mikoshi for the little ones and the children carry these with no less vigor than their older brothers and sisters. After all the mikoshi are purified in the *o-harai* ceremony at the main shrine they are trans-

The binzasara, *a strange percussion instrument made of wooden slats on a cord, is used in sacred dances.*

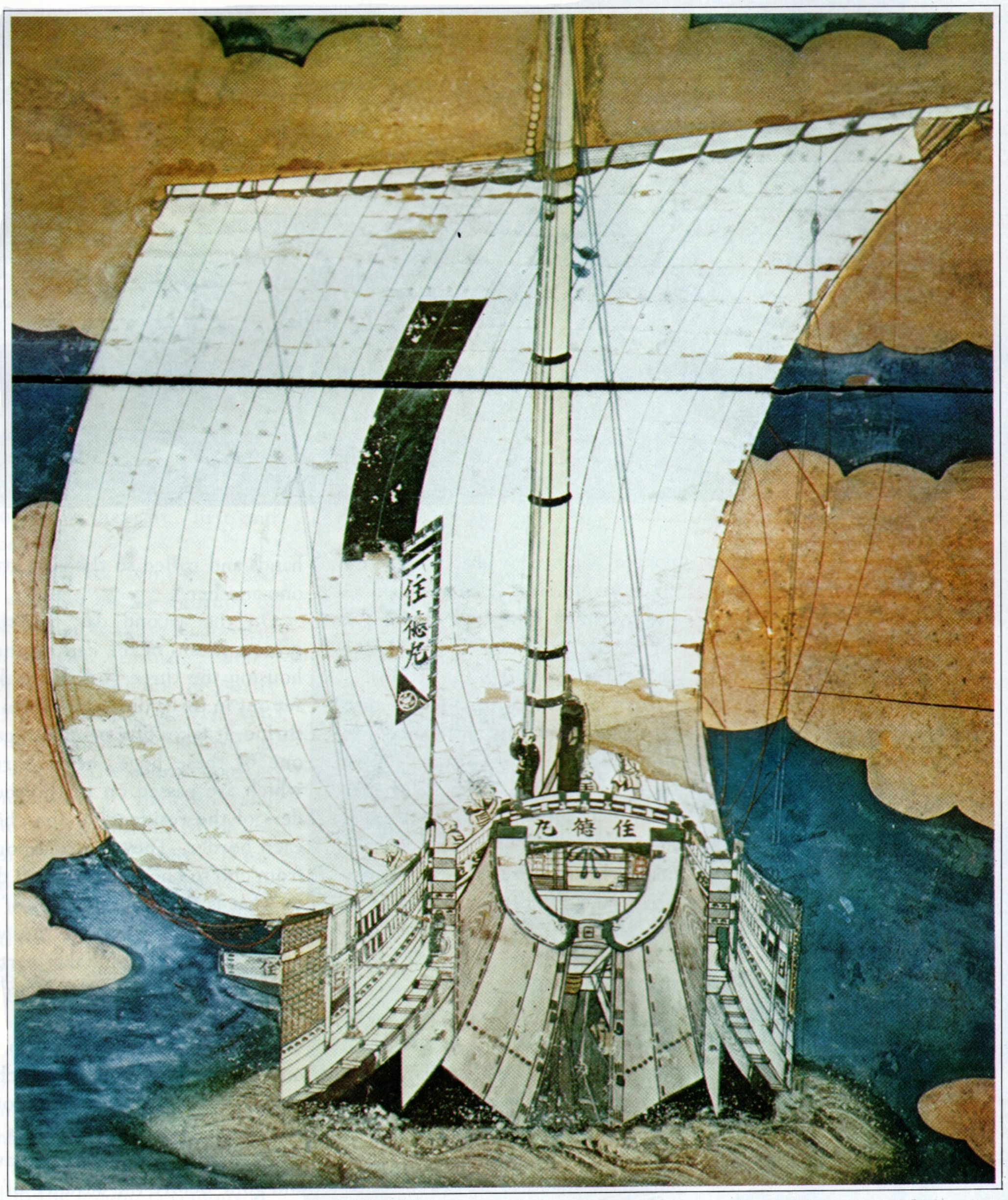
ported vigorously back to their respective homes. From seven in the morning until eight o'clock at night the mikoshi tilt and the crowds mill through the streets.

Also, in the afternoon up to a thousand musicians and dancers in the traditional dress handed down from early times dance and play drums and flutes, parading through the streets and gathering at the main shrine. Sacred dances are performed on the stage set up at the shrine, including *dengaku*, a kind of dance that goes back to the rice-transplanting songs in the Heian period and which is rarely seen today. An invocation of the gods' bounty for temples and shrines and aristocratic homes, these dances use a very old and interesting percussion instrument, called the *binzasara*, made of 40–50 wooden slats strung on a cord which is held like an accordian in both hands and rolled so the slats strike one another.

On the second day the three great mikoshi of the central shrine housing the three gods of Asakusa set out in three directions from the shrine. It takes fifty people to carry one of these huge, heavy shrines which are passed on to the shoulders of the residents of the chō at each border. They are transported from chō to chō like this until dark in what is the real highlight of the festival. Everyone from the very young to the very old takes part in, delights in and looks forward to this festival among festivals. And everyone throws his heart into this one of the few matsuri which is really like the matsuri of old though all around them in other areas the old festival feeling has slipped away and gone before the advance of the modern age. 園

Culture

One-masted Craft — the History of Japanese Ships



Photographs courtesy of Ishii Kenji

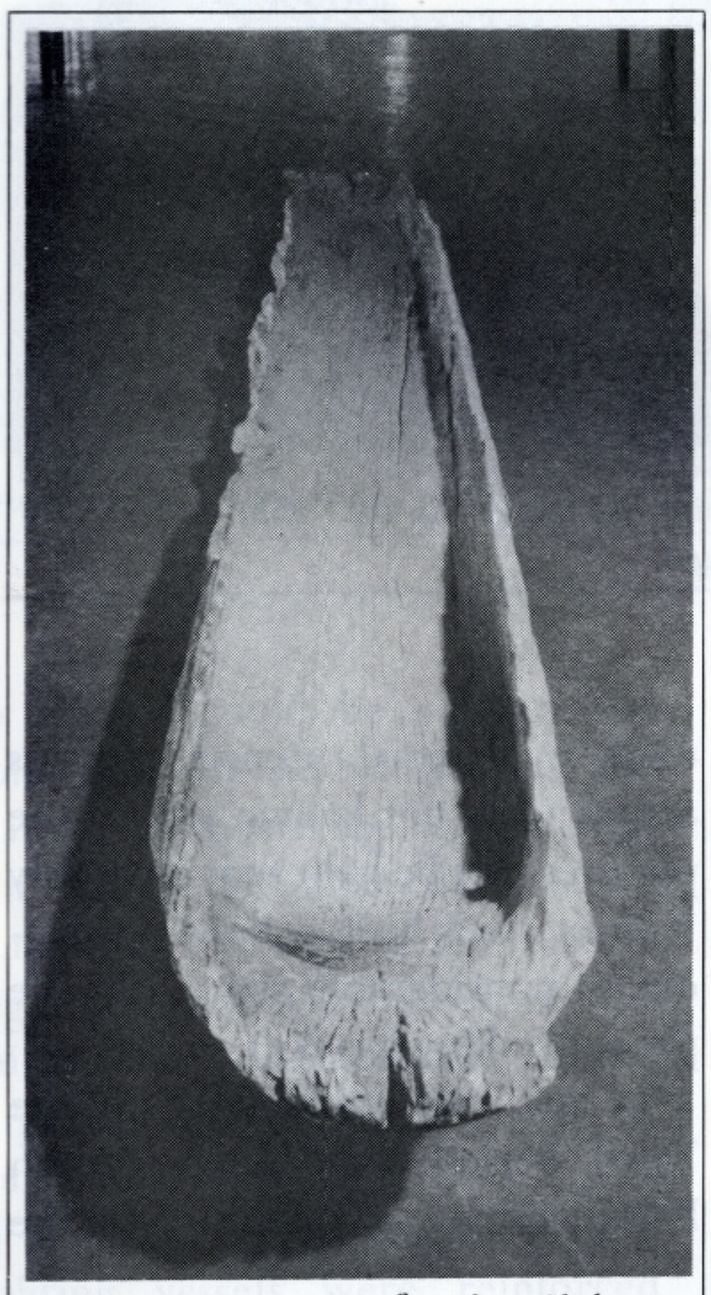
At times when Japanese sailors on a drifting ship were rescued by a foreign vessel, from the early 17th century to the middle of the 19th century, they often could only communicate with their rescuers about where they were from by showing the foreigners a picture. The drawing of the one-masted sailing ship immediately identified the shipwrecked sailors for the foreign seamen as drifters from Japan.

Japan being a chain of islands surrounded by sea in all directions with high mountain ranges running along and across the land, ships have played an important part since the days of antiquity not only in domestic transportation but overseas as well. Shipbuilding skills, however, were limited to the traditional Japanese methods until the far more advanced Western techniques were introduced into Japan in the late 19th century. That is why the Japanese vessels of those days had a special shape and structure that allowed them to be identified instantaneously. The Japanese shipbuilding of the time arose from several unique factors: One is that Japan was a forest country abounding in the finest of giant timber, which made it easy to build ships using rather simple skills. Hence there was no need to develop vessels with a more elaborate structure (built-up ships).

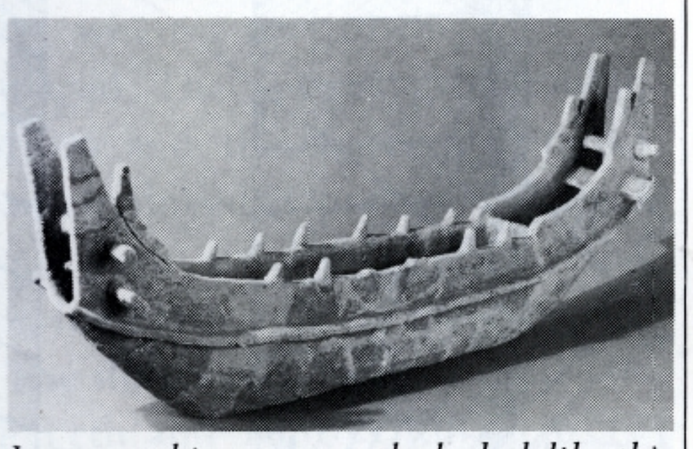
Another reason, far more significant than the first one, is that Japan closed herself off from the outside twice: once more or less naturally (Japan did not particularly seek foreign relations with other nations, and neither did other countries with her) in the Heian Period (794–1185), and again in the Edo Period (1603–1867) with its obstinate isolationist policy.

It was only toward the end of the Tokugawa Shōgunate that national defence needs finally forced the shipbuilders to adopt Western methods. The far superior Western technology literally wiped out big traditional Japanese ships in less than half a century or so. Today shades of wasen 和船 *or the traditional Japanese-style ships (Japanese junks) can be glimpsed only in some small fishing boats and river boats.*

The shipbuilding engineering of modern-day Japan, whose production volume outnumbers all other countries in the world, does not draw upon the tradition of wasen construction at all. Thus it is we are happy to present this story in dedication to the memory of the wasen once so familiar with their capacious lack of pretension, a monument to the craftsmanship of former shipwrights.



This dug-out canoe found in Chiba Prefecture dates back 5100 years, the oldest ship found in Japan.

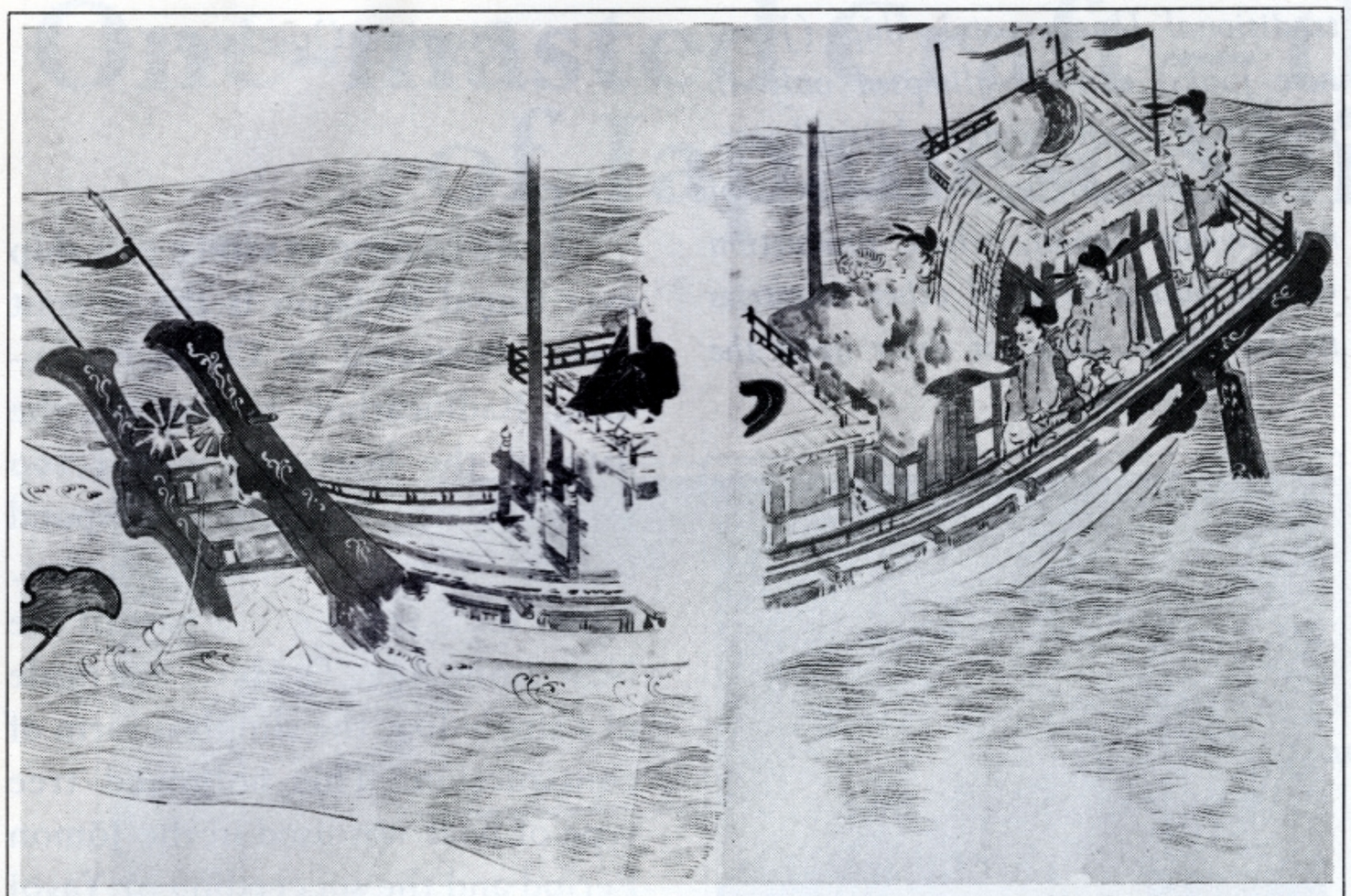


Japanese ships apparently looked like this haniwa in Tokyo National Museum during the 5–6th centuries.

Digging Out Logs

THE OLDEST EXAMPLE of a ship ever found in Japan is the dugout canoe excavated in Chiba Prefecture. Radiocarbon testing set the date of the boat at about 5,100 years ago which would correspond to the Jōmon Period (approx. 8,000 B.C.–200 B.C.), a part of the New Stone Age. The boat was made of a single log, the simplest form of construction. This hollowed tree type of boat was used in the Jōmon Period and the succeeding or Yayoi Period (200 B.C.–238 A.D.), though the shape changed in the course of its development. For example, the single log canoe evolved into a dugout using more than two logs. The structure of the simple dugout differed little from those of Europe, but when the builders started to employ several logs, the boat began to exhibit a unique Japanese feature in the joints. In Europe the logs were fitted horizontally, whereas in Japan they were joined longitudinally by ingenious interlocking. The dugout canoes of those days seem, according to the results of the excavation, to have been propelled with wooden paddles.

In the latter Yayoi Period, the primitive dugouts made noticeable progress; the body was planed thinner and shaped and the bottom was made into the same "V" shape as is evident in modern ships. This, of course, served to reduce both weight and wave resistance, and represented quite a technical advancement. Furthermore, the bow came to be shaped leaner and the stern a little wider, making the front clearly discernible from the back; this resulted in quite a change of image from the more primitive ones with practically identical heads and tails. Later, the hull of a



Japanese envoys traveled to T'ang China in ships like this one in the "Kibi Daijin Nittō Ekotoba" (copy of work in poss. Boston Museum).

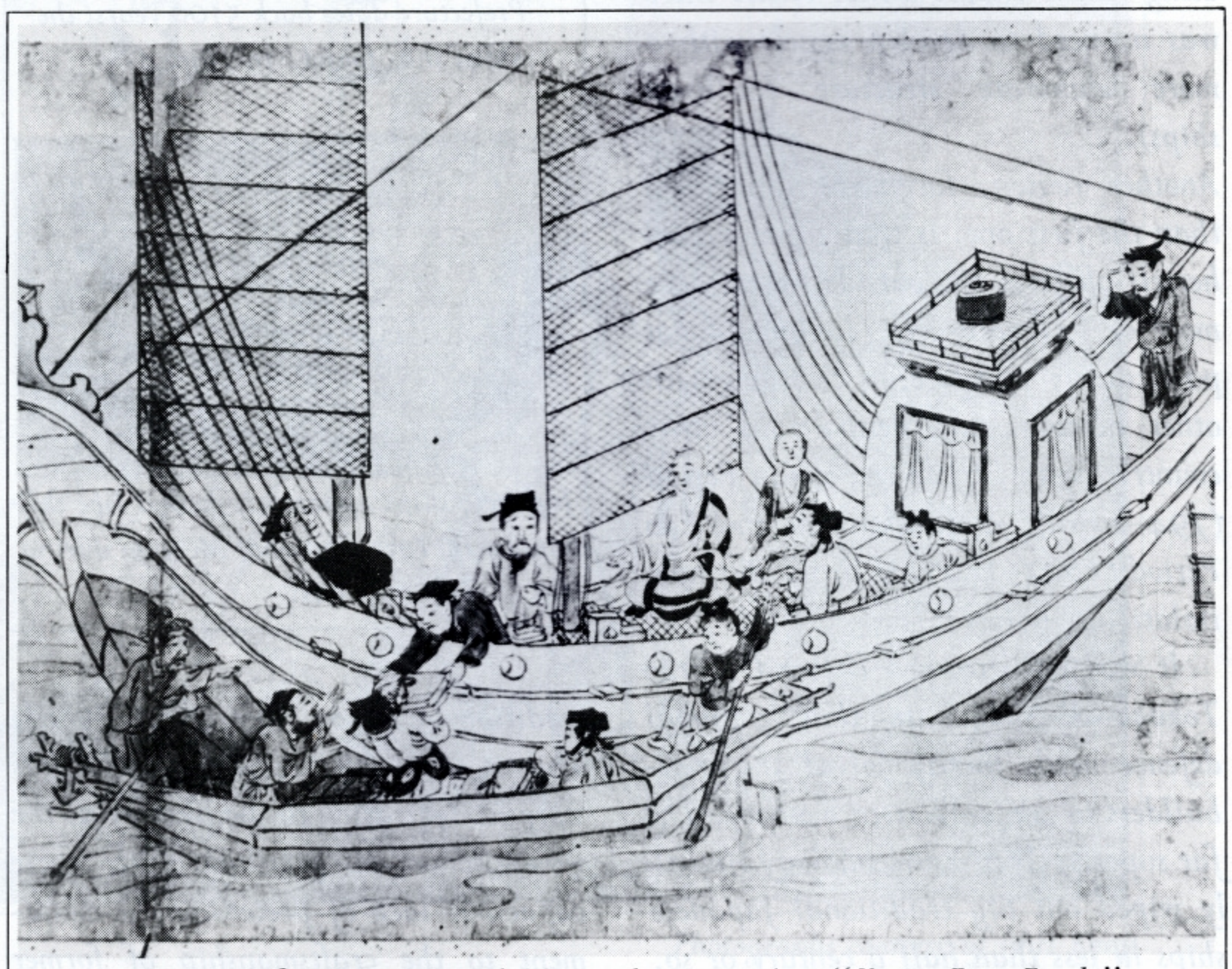
dugout was equipped with a strake, greatly increasing navigability, and the available tonnage was also expanded. It was beginning to look more and more like a real full-fledged boat.

Japan began offering tribute to the Latter Han Dynasty after the middle of the Yayoi Period. Ships had to pass through the Strait of Korea in the course of the tributary voyage to China, suggesting that rather sizable vessels must have been employed for the purpose.

This speculation is supported by one historical document that mentions a gift of 160 slaves to China. No concrete remains have been discovered to verify the size of the ships of the time; however, the drawings etched on *dōtaku* and earthenware believed to have been used in that period depict gondola-shaped ships that curve upward at both stem and stern, with a roofed compartment in the center and two poles that look like masts. (Dōtaku refers to the bell-shaped bronzeware which is inscribed with primitive pictures of men, animals and other various designs on both sides. It is suspected to have been used as a ritual utensil, but its actual use is not known yet.) If the pictures may be believed, obviously it must have been a built-up dug-out of considerable size with side panel planking (strake).

In the eras subsequent to the Yayoi Period such as the Kofun Period (latter 3rd century to the mid 6th century), the Nara Period (710 A.D.–793 A.D.), and including the early Heian Period, emissaries and scholars were frequently sent over to China by sea, on sizable boats. Little is known about the structure of those boats. It is estimated from drawings made in and after the 11th century that those vessels must have resembled the two-masted Chinese junks. Therefore, it may be said that Japanese ships had evolved by then from the most primitive one log dugout to the dugout with more than two logs, then the primitively built boats, and to the Chinese style ship.

It happened in 894. The dispatch of envoys to T'ang China was discontinued due to the decline of the T'ang Dynasty, the difficulty on the Japanese side of procuring sufficient funds, and for other reasons. This naturally isolated Heian Japan from outside, and construction of large size vessels came to a halt. The early boat with the dug-out bottom remained unchanged except in size until the 13th century.



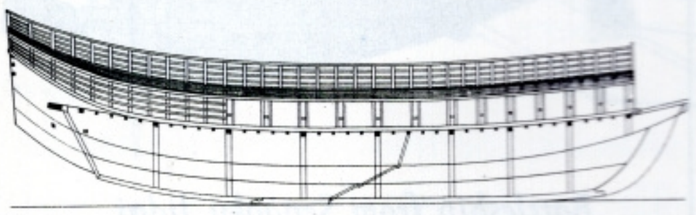
Chinese junk from Sung Period (10–13th centuries) in "Kegon Engi Emaki"

Ships for War

SHIPS DESIGNED specifically for fighting purposes came to be built in the 14th century. Until then "sea battles" were not ships attacking other ships. Two boats carried soldiers close enough to reach out and fight one another. In other words, battle ships were actually transport ships that were merely present at the sea battles.

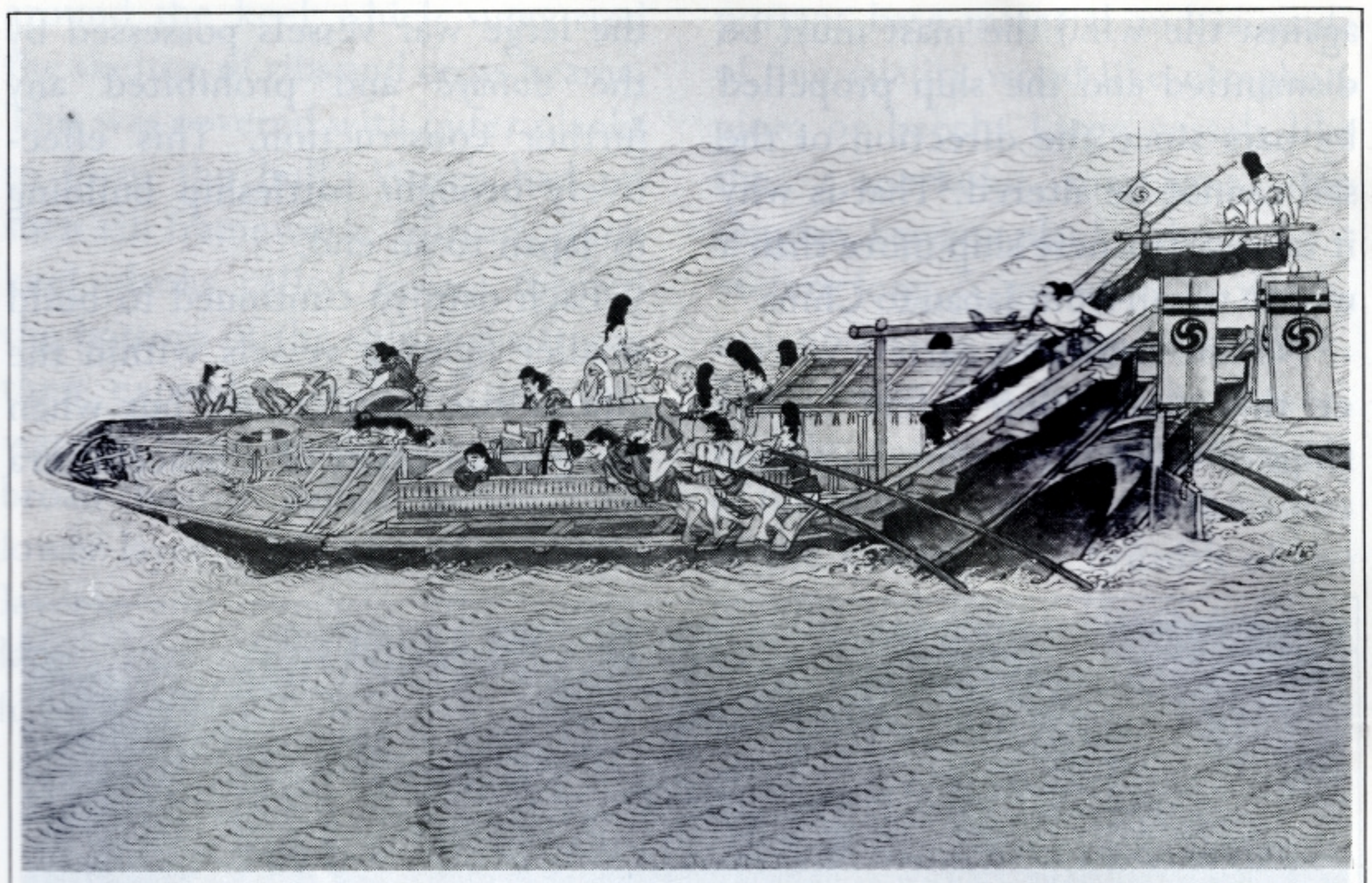
But all this changed with the spate of civil wars in the 14th and 15th centuries. Pirates began to make raids in the Inland Sea. The most powerful among them became the provincial rulers dominating their own territories, and began producing their own battleships and developing strategies for sea

Diagram of Ataké type battleship



battle that were secretly handed down among the clansmen and retainers. These pirates competed for supremacy at sea and occasionally supported their favorite generals in the battle field as well. It was out of this turbulent age that warships emerged.

The major force of the naval fleet of the Sengoku Period (15th–16th centuries) resided in wooden ships of the "*Ataké* type," which were equipped with anywhere from 50 to 160 oars. The ship's upper deck was covered from fore to aft with a thick armoured plate (6–9 centimeters), a protective outer layer of iron. Arrows and bullets were shot through holes in this shield spaced at regular intervals. The board was hinged at the bottom



Wasen of Kamakura Period (12–14th centuries). Battleships looked pretty much like this.

so that it could be opened and converted to a bridge for the warriors to board the enemy ship. On top of the upper deck was a conning tower two to four stories high. Oarsmen were safe inside the shield. The displacement of the larger of these ships came to 500 tons.

The double bottoms of the fighting vessels were reinforced with stones, and plaster. Watertight shutters were placed at appropriate points to prevent fatal leaks when a part of the ship was damaged. That is to say, the double bottom and the watertight bulkhead employed in present-day steel ships were already in use in the wooden battleships of those times.

The shores of Korea and China in the 15th and 16th centuries were infested with pirate bands known as *wakō* 倭寇 who were armed and engaged in smuggling. Once they were detected by Korean or Chinese officials, they fought with their arms. Wakō is a pejorative bestowed by the Chinese and Koreans carrying the literal meaning "Japanese violence." Nonetheless, reliable Chinese historical documents like the *Ming Records* 明実録 state that only 10 to 20% of the wakō pirates were Japanese and the rest, the majority, contraband seamen from Ming China.

It is not clear today, what kind of vessels these pirates sailed upon. The Chinese who suffered with the height of wakō terrorism delineated Japanese ships as follows: "Unlike Chinese vessels, the Japanese ships employ huge square timbers, which are connected not with iron nails but with pieces of iron (this must refer to clamps). They do not use hemp ropes and Paulownia oil as do the Chinese to prevent leakage at the joints; they merely fill up the crevices with weeds. It must be quite time-consuming and costly to build a ship in the Japanese way, and doubtless only the extremely wealthy have them. The larger vessels can accommodate around 300 passengers, and even smaller ones 70 to 80 people. The Japanese sails are square while Chinese use lugsails. The mast is made differently as well; Japanese masts are removable while Chinese ones are fixed. Japanese use their masts only when they sail with the wind, and when they have to sail in calm or

against the wind the mast must be dismantled and the ship propelled by oars since the direction of the sail cannot be altered. That is why it takes a Japanese ship more than a month to sail from Japan to China."

No one knows for certain whether this description refers to the ships of wakō. According to a hand

Wakō pirates battling with Ming soldiers, from "Wakō Zukan" (poss. Tōkyō Univ.)

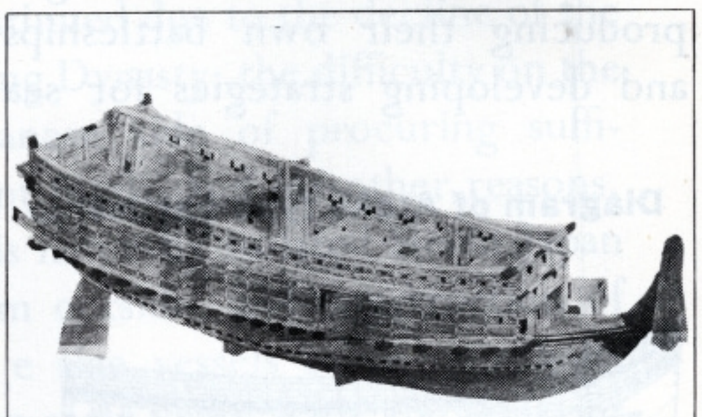
scroll of the 16th century (*Wakō Zukan*) the ships of the time was a mixed model of Chinese and Japanese shipbuilding traditions.

By the beginning of the 17th century, the Western sailing ship was introduced by the Westerners who came to Japan, adding a new look to the already existing purely Japanese style battleships and semi-Chinese models. Japanese became eager to learn Western shipbuilding skills. Then Tokugawa Ieyasu (See Vol. VII No. 8) fought and won the Battle of Sekigahara which established his supremacy over the nation; afterward he confiscated all the large war vessels possessed by the *daimyō* and prohibited any further construction. This effectively brought battleship building in Japan to an end.

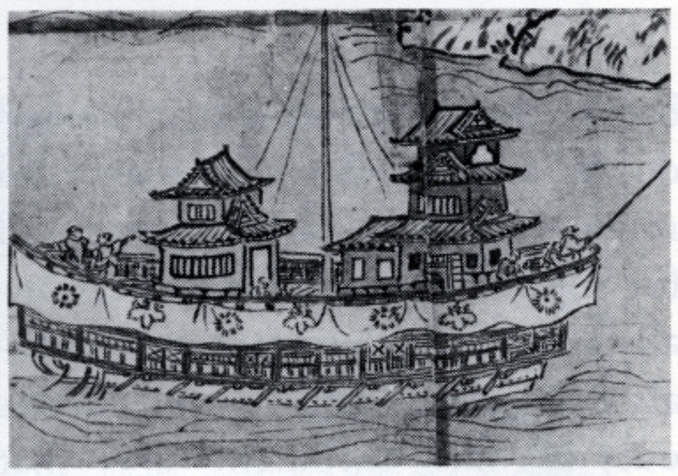
Each daimyō continued to build smaller fighting vessels within the official size restrictions, but when the gradual onset of a peaceful era eliminated the need for battleships, they were turned into private pleasurecraft and used to entertain guests. Such degenerated warcraft came to be called *gozasen*, "sitting boats." The upper deck formerly protected by the shield was retained only in the framework, and its interior was transformed into an elaborately decorated cabin with walls, sliding doors, and ceiling painted with scenes of the four seasons. The Tokugawa Shōgunate officially isolated itself from abroad in 1639, and the budding Western shipbuilding industry withered away and died.

Ships for Enterprising

THE 270 YEARS of Tokugawa reign was marked by next to no domestic battles or exchange with foreign countries, instead leading to the flourishing of towns throughout Japan. Particularly remarkable were the growth of Ōsaka, which proudly called itself the nation's "kitchen," and Edo which became the center of national politics and a consumptive economy. Not only rice but the entire array of market commodities was transported by sea from various regions to these two major cities. The ships of the day were the large freighters, the heroes of the ocean as they cruised all around Japan. They maintained their leading role throughout the Edo Period. Also, it is these merchant sailing ships which were the symbol of wasen at the zenith



Battleship from Sengoku Jidai

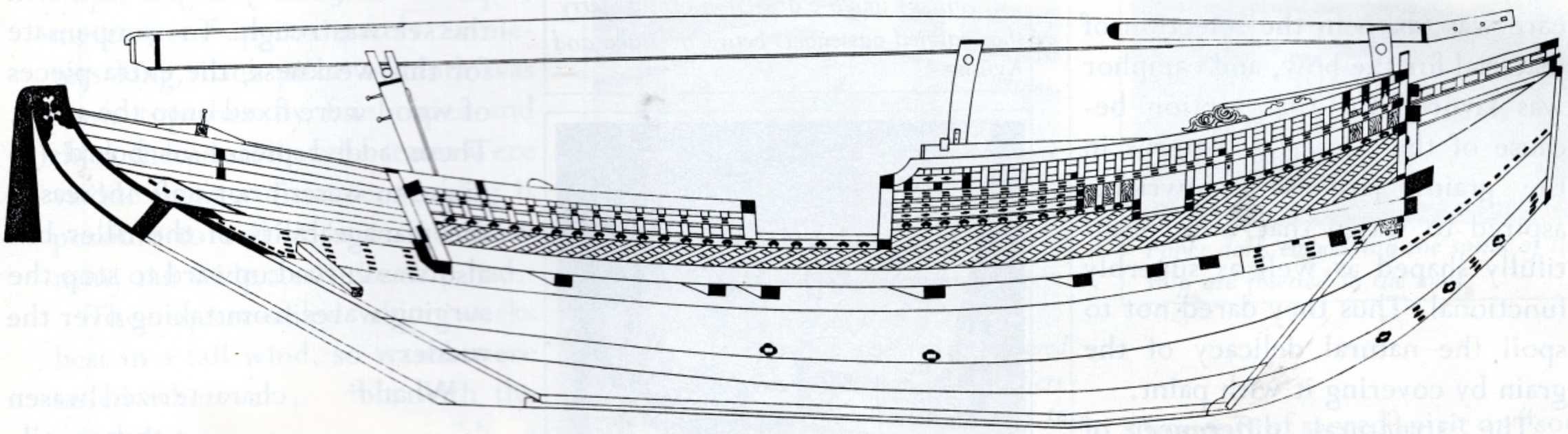


Japanese battleship from the 16th century depicted on "Hizen Nagoya Castle Screen"
(poss. Saga Prefectural Museum)

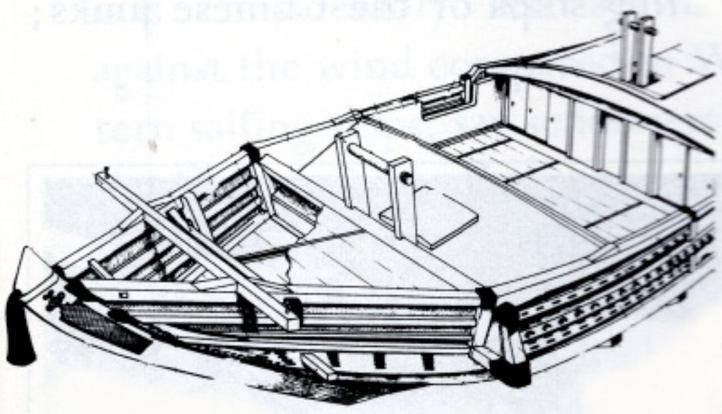
of their beauty, and they represented the finale of wasen's glory. Because these huge transport ships could carry 1,000 *koku* (5,120 bushels) of rice or more at a time, they came to be known as *sengoku-buné* 千石船 or "thousand-koku ships." The 150-ton sengoku-bune, which were considered the most typical of wasen, had a structure quite different from that of the Western sailing ships.

Western shipbuilders in those days constructed the framework around the keel which supported the skelton of ribs and cross beams. This was covered with outer planks to form the hull. Wasen had no such rib framework. Instead, thick keel planks called *kawara* formed the bottom of the ship, which was then expanded outward and upward in three overlapping layers of broad boards called *nedana* (the lower layer), *nakadana* (the middle layer), and *uwadana* (the upper layer). (See figure.) Kawara, which forms the keel, is the most important base material and is made of fine quality wood like camphor, pine, or beech. Large vessels like the 1,000-koku merchant ship require kawara planks about 13.6 meters long, 1.5 meters in width, and about 30 centimeters thick. The planks that form the lower, middle, and upper levels are made of board of about half the thickness of the kawara. The breadth of the middle and upper layers particularly is far greater than the span of any single piece of timber and

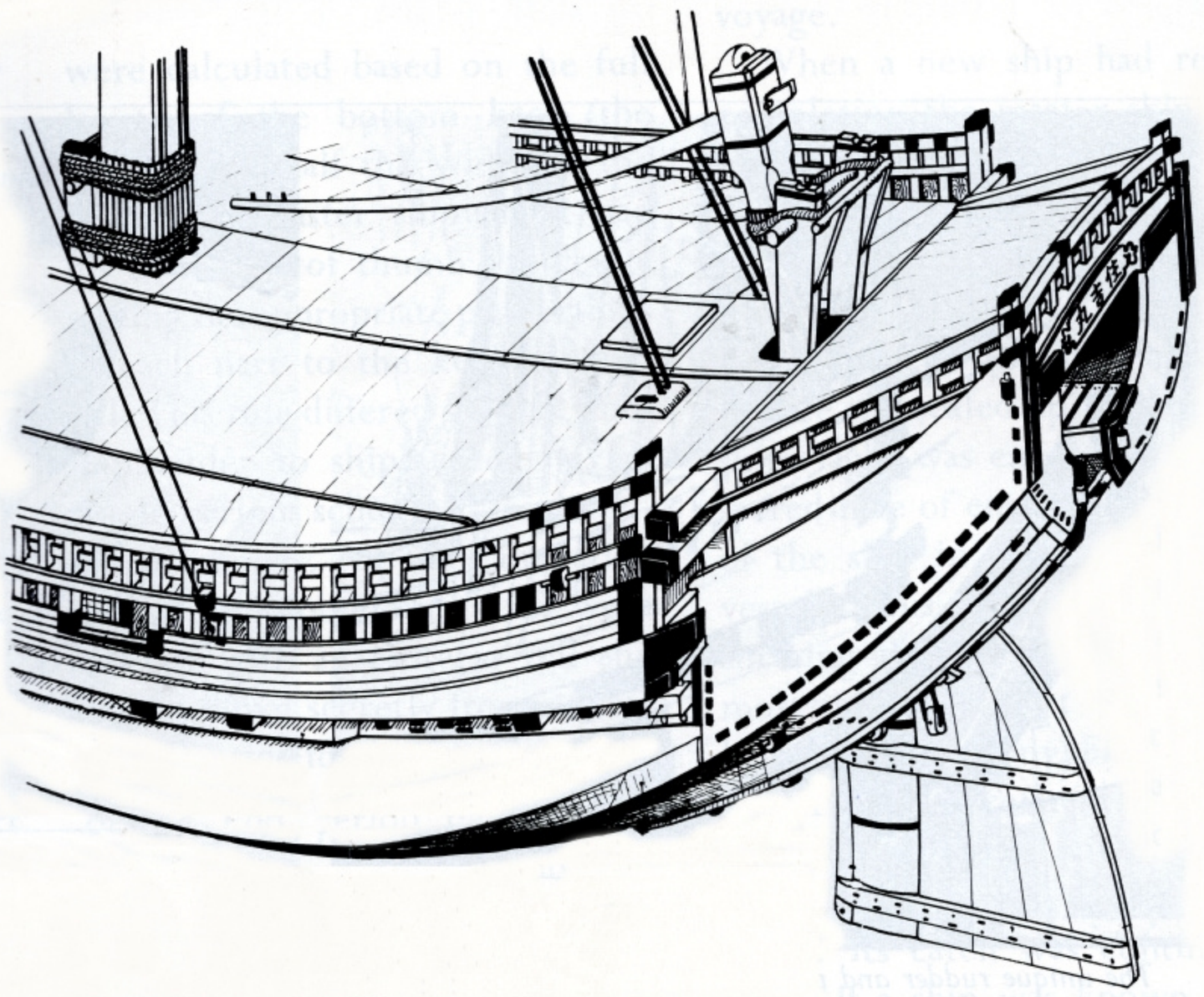
Diagram of sengoku-buné



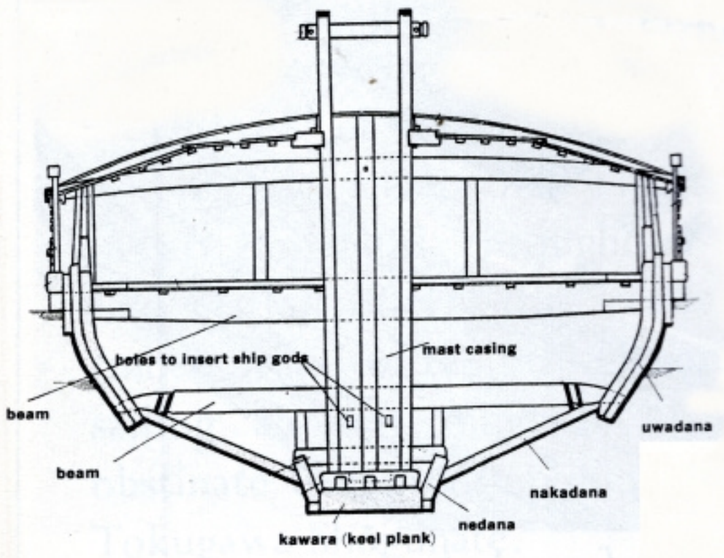
Stem of sengoku-buné



Stern of sengoku-buné



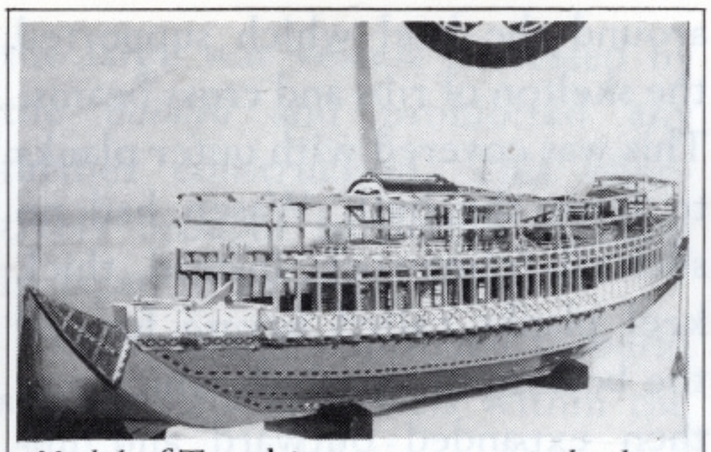
Cross-section of sengoku-buné



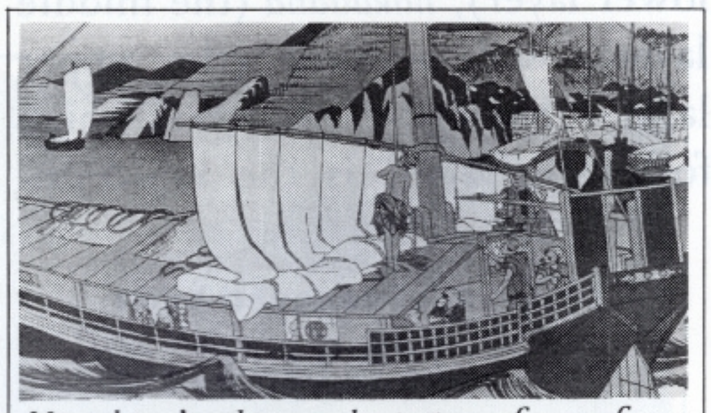
therefore these were constructed of many boards bound together. The thick layers of outer boards maintain the lengthwise strength of the hull, and cross-beams of solid beech inserted at appropriate intervals to the sides reinforce it crossways. (See the illustration.) The hull thusly made of thick timbers and beams not only demonstrated a high degree of strength but was easy to build. The method of assembling wasen was possible for Japan because she had abundant wood resources, enabling the shipbuilders to obtain giant trees such as Japanese cypress, pine, cedar, camphor, beech and others. Special care was taken in the selection of material for the bow, and camphor was favored for that section because of the exquisite patterns in the grain. Japanese shipwrights aspired to wasen that were beautifully shaped as well as superbly functional. Thus they dared not to spoil the natural delicacy of the grain by covering it with paint.

The structural difference of wasen from the Western ships is evidenced, too, in the type of rudder. The rudder for Japanese ships was not fixed firmly at the sternpost as on Western vessels. The rudder for wasen was suspended from the bottom beam so that its concave shape worked as the pintle. The suspended rudder developed from the fact that majority of the ports of the time were bays and river banks offering naturally shaped piers where water tended to be shallow and rudders easily got stuck in the bottom. Thus, it needed to be free and easily lifted up. This tractable rudder also had its demerits; because of its flexibility, it exhibited little propellent power, and its power was easily impaired when the sea was rough. To compensate for this weakness, the extra pieces of wood were fixed onto the stern. These added pieces of board (unique to wasen) not only increased the manageability of the tiller but also was curved upward to stop the surging waves from taking over the rudder.

What most characterized wasen was its one mast with a square sail. The mast was not outfitted with elaborate rigging as were Western sailing ships or the Chinese junks;

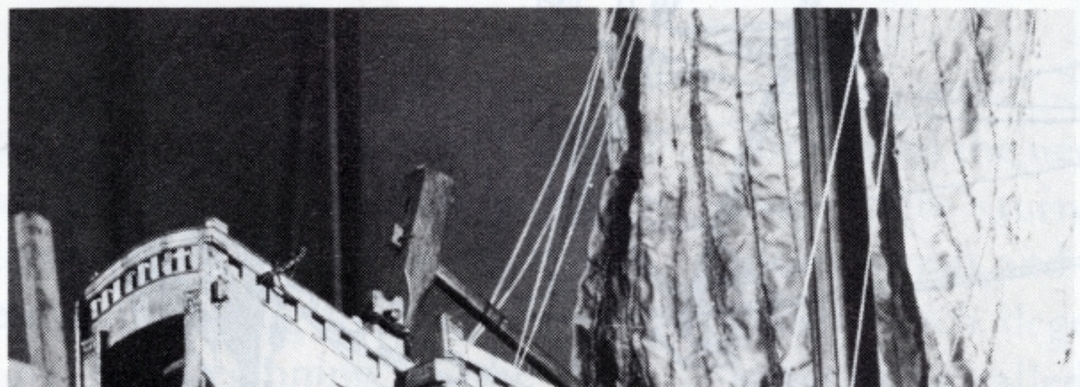


Model of Tenchi-maru, *gozasen built at the command of third Tokugawa Shōgun Iemitsu*

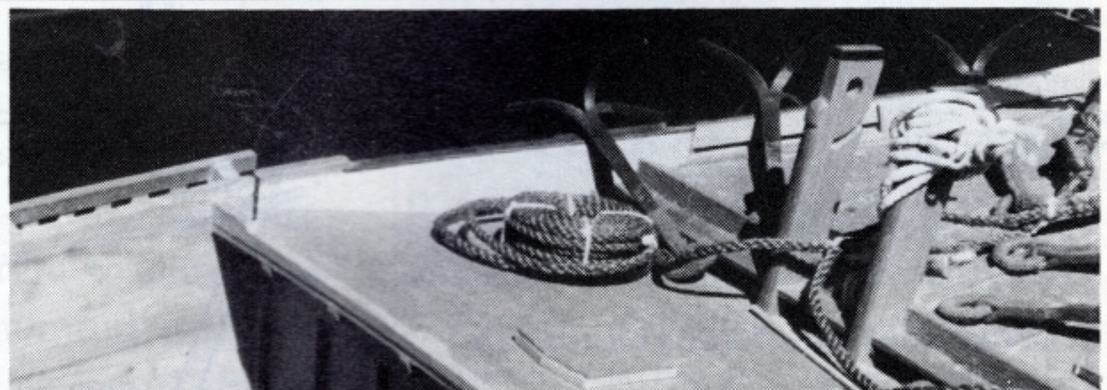


Hiroshige's ukiyo-e depiction of a ferry that carried passengers between Ōsaka and Kyūshu

Model of 19th century sengoku-buné (poss. Tokyo National Museum)



The unique rudder and planking identify the wasen.



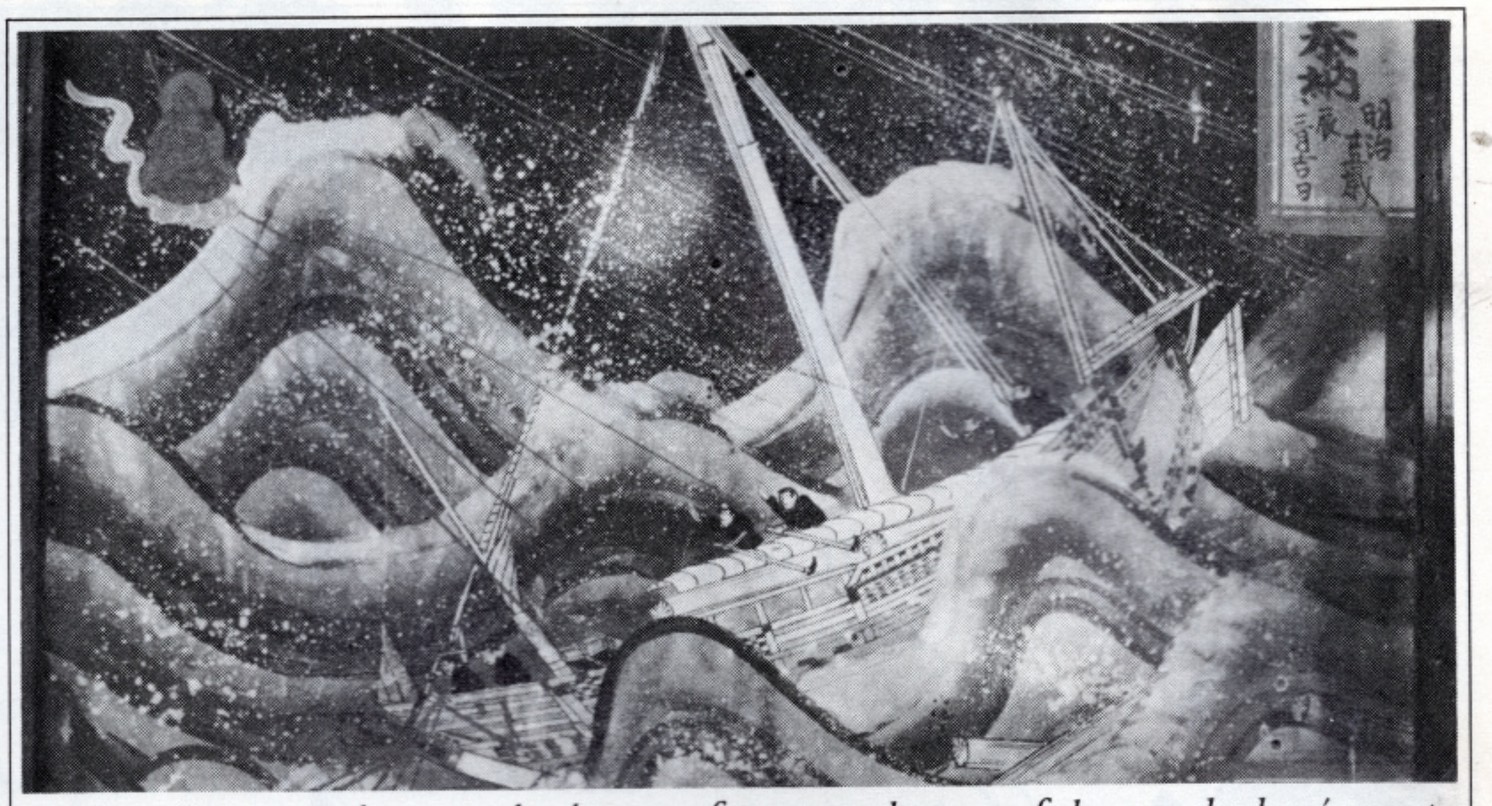
Hold of sengoku-buné

consequently a giant pole was necessary to support the sail. Cedar or Japanese cypress was best suited for the mast, and the ones used for the 1,000-koku sized cargo vessels measured around 73 centimeters in diameter and 24 meters or so in length. The price of the mast represented the greater part of the expenses involved in constructing a ship.

As for the sail, the white sail—that is the cotton sail—was most common. Regardless of the length, each bolt of cotton measured one *tan* (76 centimeters) in width. For sizable vessels like the 1,000-koku ships, the sail was 25 tan wide (19 meters) and approximately 21 meters long. Each piece of cloth was sewn together by fine ropes and thick thread so that the seams were visible from a distance, making it possible to tell at first sight how many tan wide a sail the ship had.

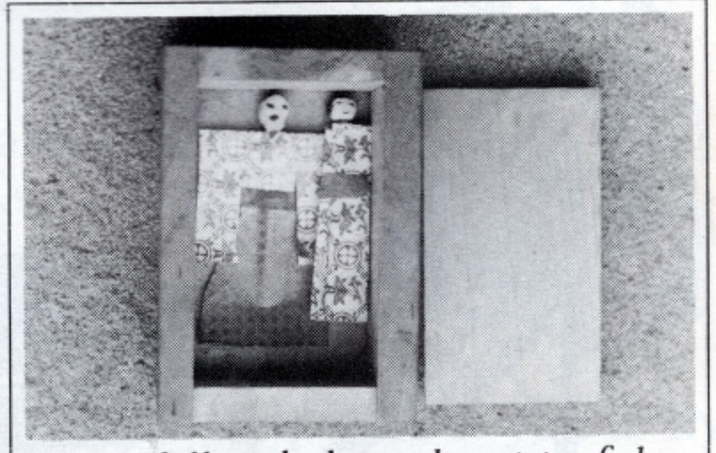
The square-sailed ship works best in a tail wind, so wasen were sailed wherever possible with the wind. It was, of course, possible to cruise with side winds or rarely with a head wind, but the wasen's was considerably less seaworthy against the wind compared to Western sailing ships, say schooners, or the Chinese junks that were equipped with sails force and aft. Wasen used to take shelter in a nearby port or behind an island when the wind was unfavorable, and when shelter could not be found in handly reach, they had to go back all the way regardless of the distance, to the port where they had started the voyage. The poor seaworthiness of wasen was an inherent, fatal weak point which was never improved throughout the Edo Period due to the restraints (more precisely the prohibition on sailing abroad) imposed by the obstinate isolationist policy of the Tokugawa Shōgunate.

The measurements of each part were calculated based on the full length of the bottom keel (the kawara), or half the width of the sail. Each master shipwright had his own rule of thumb for determining the appropriate proportions of each part to the keel and the sail. This rule differed slightly from shipbuilder to shipbuilder, giving rise to various schools of shipbuilding techniques. The fine calculation and other shipbuilding skills were covered with an esoteric veil and handed down secretly from master to apprentice for generations.



As their ship is caught up in the disaster of a storm, the crew of the sengoku-buné pray to the gods for help.

When a ship hit rough weather and seemed in danger in the Edo Period, the sailers would cut off their hair in an entreaty to the gods. If the gods responded and saved them, they offered the locks to the home shrine.

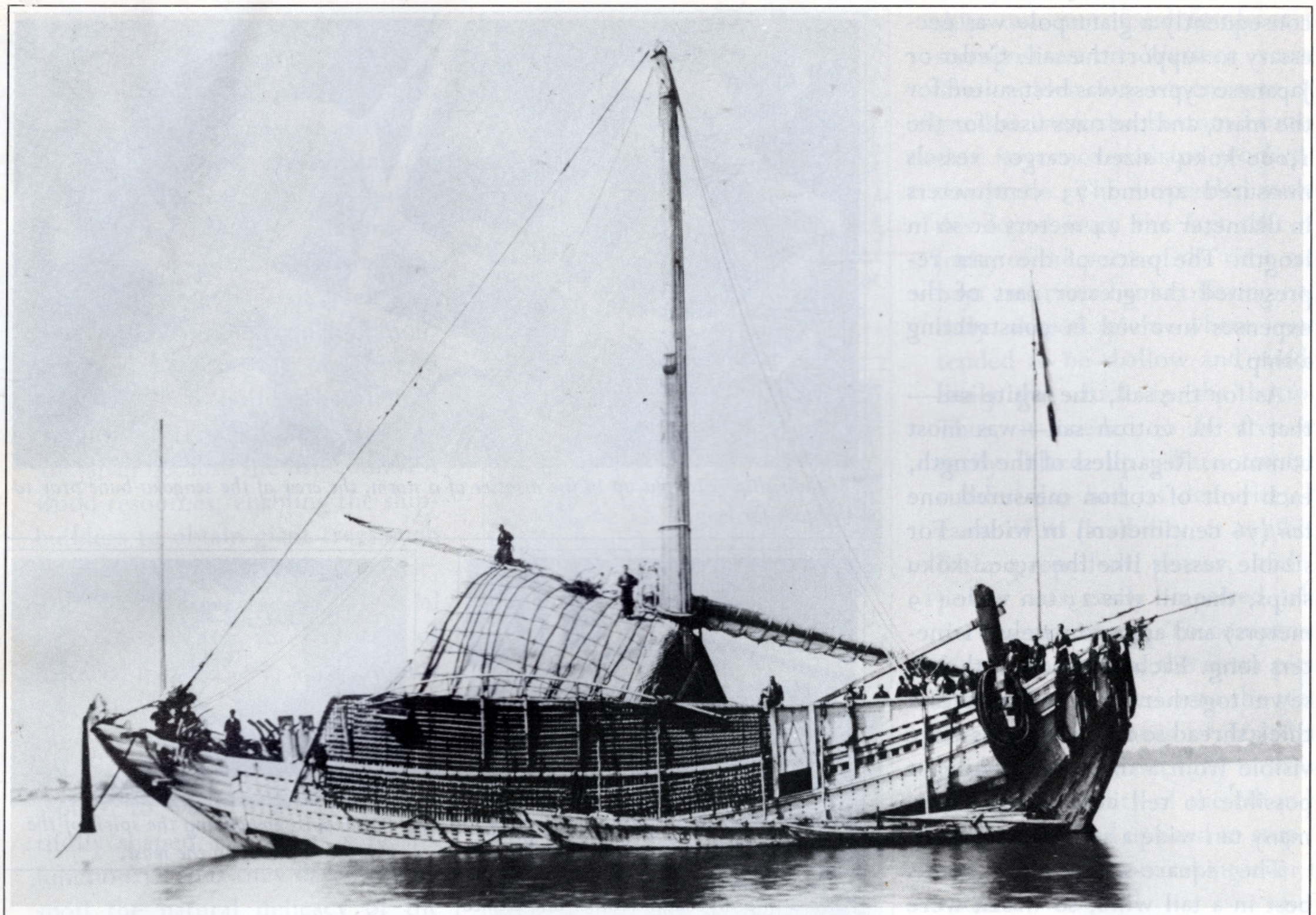


Paper dolls embodying the spirit of the ship are inserted in the mast.

Ships and the Supernatural

THE SHIPBUILDERS and sailers of the Edo Period believed that some sort of sacred spirit or "soul" existed for each ship which could foresee the fortune or calamity that lay ahead of the ship in the coming voyage.

When a new ship had reached completion the master shipwright opened a rectangular hole in the casing that supported the mast, inserted a boy paper doll and a girl paper doll, locks of a young girl's hair, twelve small coins, and a pair of dice and sealed up the hole. The shipwright was entrusted with the sacred role of enshrining the spirit of the ship in the newly created vessel. This esoteric ritual enshrining the spirit comprised the most important part of the entire launching ceremony. Fishing boats, for example, frequently replaced the sacred objects with new ones when it met with an accident at sea or its catch was continuously poor. If a ship was known for its



Sengoku-buné actually used during the Meiji Period (latter 19th century)

abundant good luck, a portion of the hull was used for other new ships after it was retired to transfer the good luck to them.

A legend still remains in certain regions telling about the soul of the ship: Seamen listened to the messages of the spirit of the boat conveyed in the sounds that accompanied it—when they heard the breezy "*rin-rin-rin*" like the ringing of a little high-pitched bell insect they could look forward to good luck, but the pensive whisper of "*chin-chin-chin*" was the warning of a bad omen. When a ship passed by the coast close to a shrine related to gods of ships and the sea, it was customary for the sailors to lower the sail a little in reverence for the gods enshrined at the sanctuary.

* * *

The opening of the country in the late 19th century also marked the re-entry of Western shipbuilding skills which, in less than no time, became the mainstay of Japanese shipbuilding. In no more than a half-century Japan has become world-famous for her modern shipbuilding technology. The functionally inferior wasen were destined to disappear one by one, and today the wasen tradition can be detected only in some small fishing boats. Even these wasen fishing boats are having their places taken over steadily by their Western counterparts.

Nevertheless, not a few people still adore the simple yet exquisite beauty of wasen. Its lean and rising bow, the natural curve of the planked boards, the grain of wood adding a special touch to the hull and its single sail—they all embody an aesthetic quality that is shared with the beauty of Japanese architecture. We have already introduced ("The Craft That Wouldn't Go Away" Vol. VIII No. 9), a shipwright of today who maintained the tradition of wasen-making in Tōkyō but who was forced to lay aside his job sometime ago, because no more orders for wasen were coming in. He left the saw and plane to become an auto repairman, yet could not entirely cut himself off from the fascination of building wasen. He now enjoys making wasen models as his side line of business.

This article is based on the books *Nihon no Funé* (Japanese Ships) by a renowned expert on the subject, Ishii Kenji, and *Funé* (Ships) by Professor Sudō Toshiichi et al. 園

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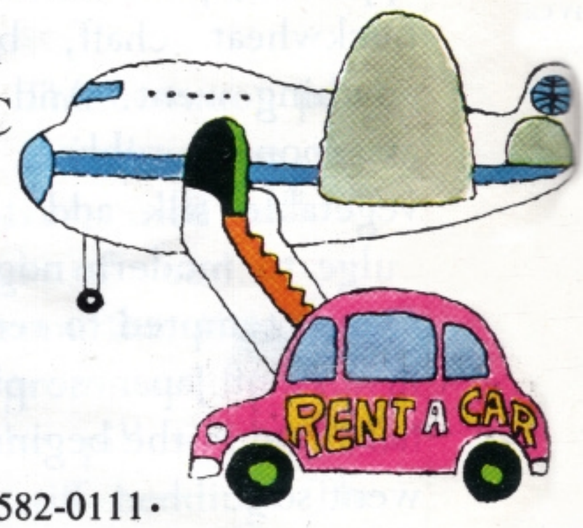

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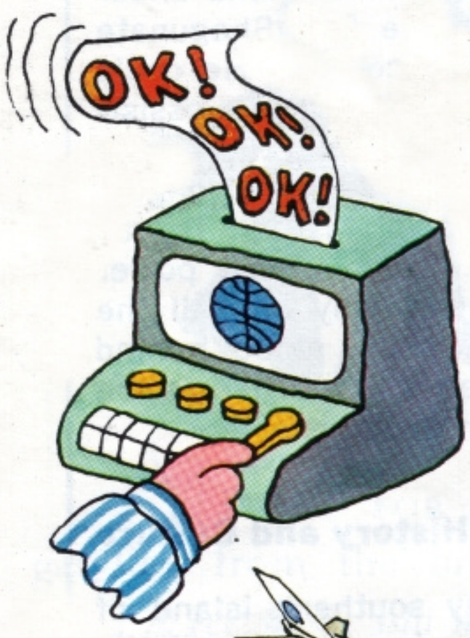

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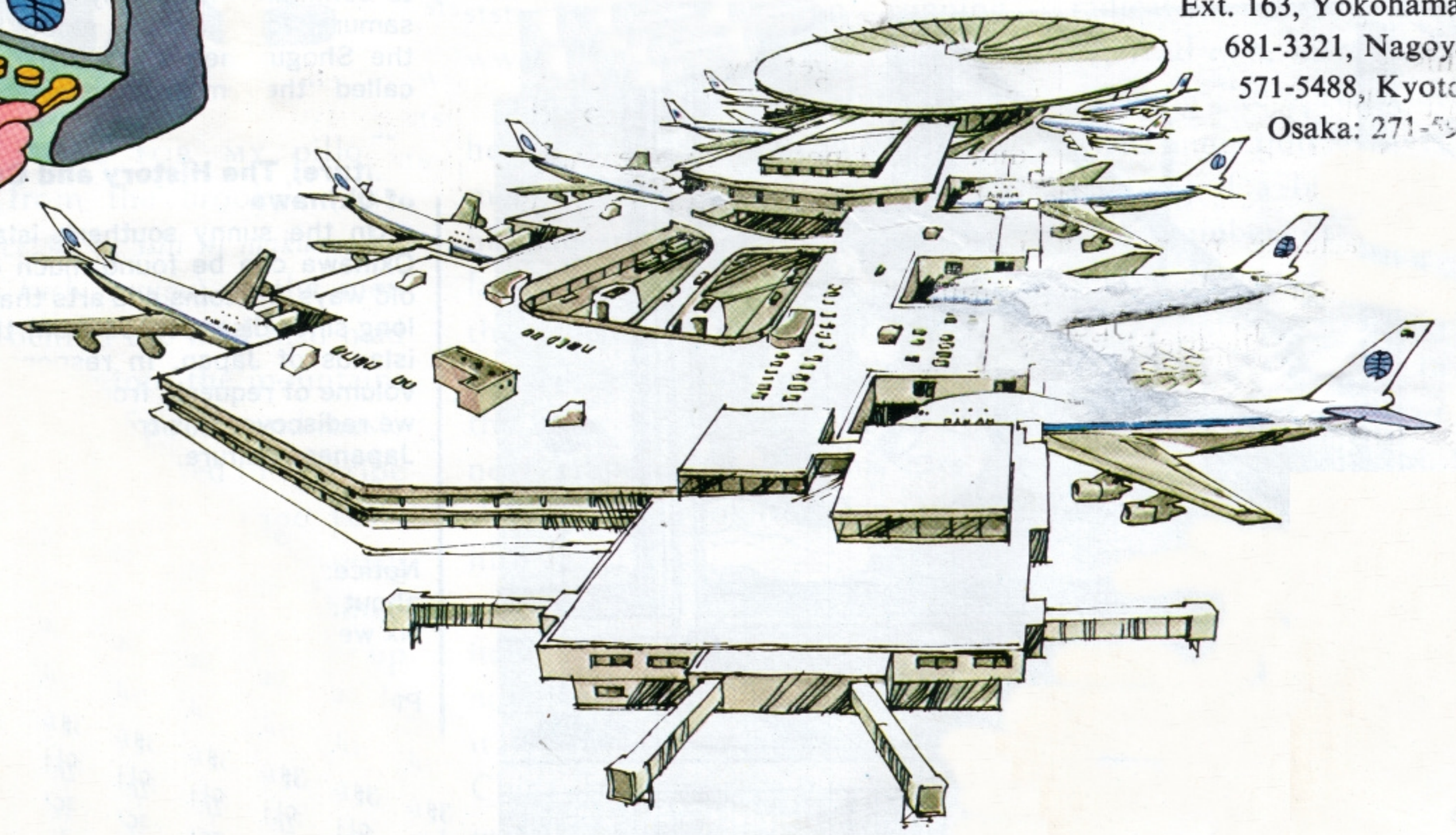

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The Chinese Way of Death

死 死 死 死 死

When a person who was critically ill fell into a coma in ancient China a piece of cotton was applied to his nose and mouth. The moment the cotton ceased to move, it was assumed that breathing had stopped forever. The sick man's soul was thought to be fleeing from his body and ascending to heaven. Desperate to dissuade the wayward soul from its precipitant flight, the Chinese hit upon the idea of calling it back before it had proceeded too far. As soon as the cotton seemed to have stopped moving someone would rush to the roof of the house waving clothes worn by the dead man and shouting, "H-e-e-ey! Po Ch'ang (or whatever his name was)! Come back!!!" three times.

In the beginning the Chinese seem to have believed in the possibility of recalling the departing soul but the practice was soon reduced to a formality. Reduced is a verb choice that would have met with frowns on the faces of the Confucianists, who placed a great deal of emphasis on the importance of formalities and etiquette. Celebrated Chinese thinker Mo-tzu 墨子 (ca. 470 B.C.–390 B.C.), however, had little use for forms and he denounced them soundly: "When one of their parents dies, those Confucianists just leave the body where it lies and climb up on the roof to look for him. . . . If they don't think the dead man is really dead then they're making fools of themselves, and if they do think he's dead and go through that rigamarole anyway then they're fooling themselves."

The practice of hailing back the souls of the deceased from rooftops continued to be observed in the provinces of China until the T'ang 唐 Period (7–10th centuries A.D.) despite the acid remarks of philosopher-critics.

After the soul-recalling ceremony, the ancient Chinese commonly dug a shallow depression in the earth and left the body there to decay. Not until the flesh had all fallen away leaving only the pure white bones was the person considered to have attained the state known as 死, *shi* or *shi(nu)*.

The origins of Kanji often provide our best clues to the earliest concepts of the meanings they convey today. Death is now and was in the past signified by the character 死. This Kanji was graved in oracle bones as and on metal vessels as . The first one depicts a man in kneeling posture on the left and the bones of the vertebrae on the right. The second shows the backbone on the left and the kneeling figure on the right. One scholar interprets both as a representation of a man kneeling to consecrate the bones of the dead. Another, more accredited theory, however, sug-

gests that the kneeling figure carries the pronunciation *shi* which also homophonically indicates "bones." *Shi* further denotes something which is expended and ceases to exist. Thus 死 comes to stand for the disintegration of the flesh that leaves the white bones. The Chinese of olden times doubtless recognized that a living being had died only after the breath had stopped, when the soul refused to respond to the summons and, gone for good, left the body to decay and finally transmute to naked, ivory bones.

If a man lost his father or mother in the Yin 殷 (14th century B.C.–11th century B.C.) or the Chou 周 (ca 1100nB.C.–256 B.C.) Periods, he was required to stay in mourning for three years. During this time he abstained from all official duties and confined himself to modest dress and food. The Confucianists observed this custom with customary strictness, causing Mo-tzu to snort, "Don't you think you could get away with three months?"

Even Confucious' 孔子 (551 B.C. –479 B.C.) disciple felt that three years was a bit dreary and he asked the Master, "Wouldn't it be better to stop at one year?"

But Confucious scowled darkly. "You mean you wouldn't think a thing of eating what you are used to eating and wearing what you are used to wearing before even three years had passed after your parents' deaths?!"

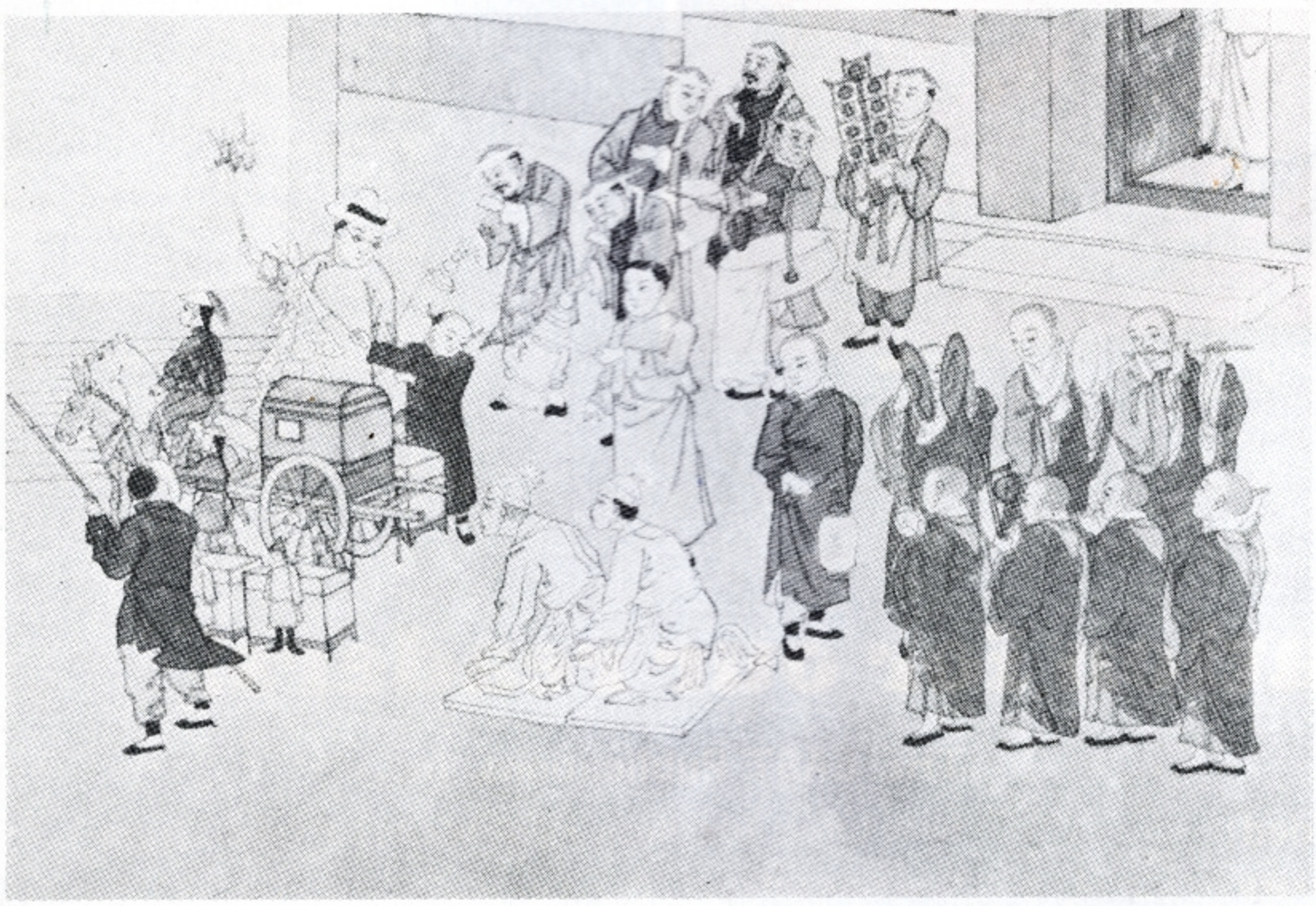
"No, I wouldn't think anything of it."

"If that's the way you feel," said the Master, "do as you like. But remember, when the Ideal Ruler is in mourning he finds the most delicious food tasteless and the most beautiful music fails to please his ear. Even when he is in his own room he cannot relax and be at ease. That is why he abides by the laws of mourning." Confucious did not approve of introducing amendments into the rules of etiquette.

How, then, did this ancient Chinese sage regard death? Fortunately, one of his disciples wondered the same thing and even more fortunately the exchange is recorded in the *Lun Yü* 論語, the *Analects of Confucious*.

"One disciple asked the Master, 'Tell us, what of death?'

"The Sage replied, 'You ask me who still knows nothing of life. How should I know about death?"



Coming Up in the Next Issue:

History: The Life of Shōtoku Taishi

One of the most popular, revered figures in all Japanese history is Shotoku Taishi. Living in the midst of the tumult that marked the latter 6th and early 7th centuries, he formulated Japan's first constitution and imparted his deep understanding of the newly introduced Buddhism to his country. Shotoku Taishi was outstanding as a statesman, religious teacher and scholar and his story has gone too long. untold.

Natural Science: The Old Cedars of Yauu

Sixty kilometers off the coast of Kyūshū in the middle of the ocean is a small island called Yakujima. On this island grow the great cedars known as Yaku-sugi. They are old, very old, from one to three thousand years in fact, and they document the history of centuries.

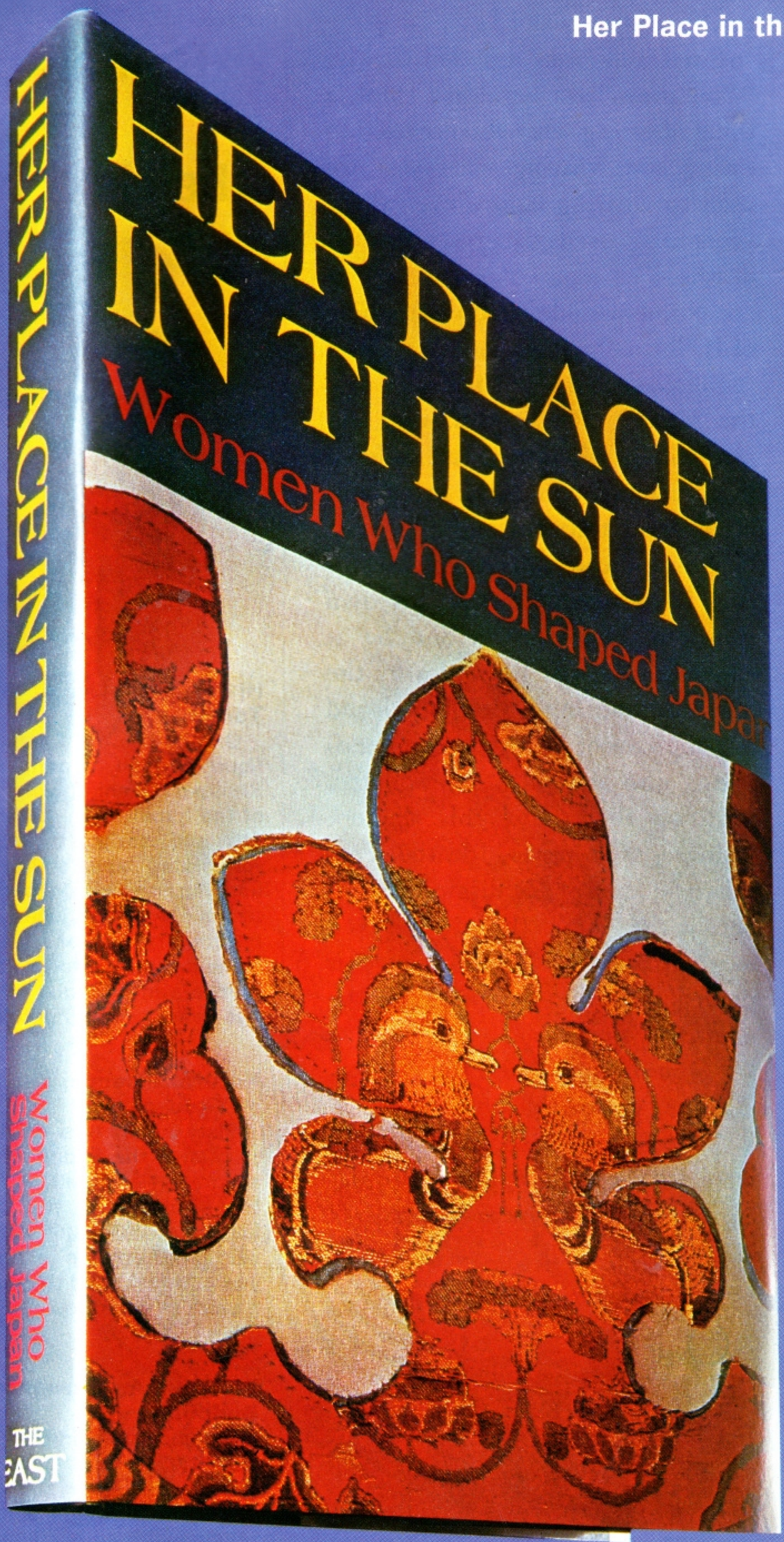
Religion: An Introduction to Buddhism

An understanding of Buddhism is essential to an understanding of Japanese history and culture. With this issue we begin a new series on religion with an explanation of some of the basic principles to keep in mind as you approach Buddhism, in succeeding articles.

Notice: Vol. IX No. 7 will reach you about the middle of July. We allow six weeks for delivery.

Please inform us if you do not wish to renew your subscription by checking the enclosed order card. Thank you.

Her Place in the Sun: Women Who Shaped Japan



There are many important stories in Japan's history which have not been told and we think it's time that they were. The women in Japan have played a far more important, far more active role in shaping not only the culture but the events that make up Japan than is generally imagined.

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The Dangerous Devouring Sui

IN THE GAY quarters of late 17th century Kamigata 上方 (Kyōto and Ōsaka area), those In The Know conveyed the fragrance of the entertainment world and its special kind of à la mode aesthetic sensibility in the meaning-packed little word *sui* すい (粋). A sui person is somebody who is always up with the times and knows what's happening. He is in tune with the delicate vibrations of the human sentiments, particularly in the arena of love and the ways of the play-world. He spends generously, yea magnanimously in the gay quarters and carries off his affairs with finesse. This aesthetic concept, "sui," permeated to the town of Edo where it was further refined into the dash of *iki* (See Vol. VII, No. 9).

It is difficult to find a comparable notion in other languages, since the appreciation of this idea was born in the particular setting of the gay quarter life in the Edo Period, and above all, it concerns delicate matters of taste that differ from culture to culture. However, a sui person has some attributes in common with that phenomenon known as a "connoisseur" in English. *Webster's Unabridged* briefly defines a "connoisseur" as: "1. one who is expert in a subject; especially one who understands the details, technique or principles of an art and is competent to act as a critical judge. 2. a discriminating judge or critic of something; one who enjoys with discrimination and appreciation of subtleties."

Regardless of his monetary resources, a real sui guy of the Edo Period had to dress urbanely and look sharp. Many a man was so proud to be "in" with the world of courtesans and entertainers that he recklessly dissipated himself and his fortune, buoyed up by the lionizing of his companions who constantly flattered him into buying another round with music to his ears; "Man, you're groovy! "You dig everything, don't you," "Now sir, you are a man I can really talk to," and an endless array of cajolery of that sort.

Though idealizing and aspiring to the spirit of sui, the overwhelming majority of the creators of Iroha cards were poor plebeians. They righteously sounded the alarm, "Sui can eat you up," *sui wa mi o ku-u*, すいはみをくう. (*Su* す comes from the character 寸.) Probably the townsmen of Edo—particularly the older folks—wanted their good sons to shun evil sui generacy, to be clumsy with women, to walk the straight path and lead the square life. It is when you try to be sui that rashness beckons and misery awaits.

Iroha-uta, the poem of containing each letter of the Japanese syllabary one, ends with *su*, す, but the Iroha cards tack on one more letter, *kyō*, 京, for God knows what reason. Many people raised the question of why kyō should show up at the end and came up with as many different conclusions. There is no single accepted explanation, but it seems likely that the origin lies in another popular game of the Edo Period, *Dōchū Sugoroku*. Sugoroku is a game in which players move along the path of a board according to the throws of a die; Kyōto 京都 is the goal. Hence kyō (short for Kyōto) becomes the finish line for Iroha cards.

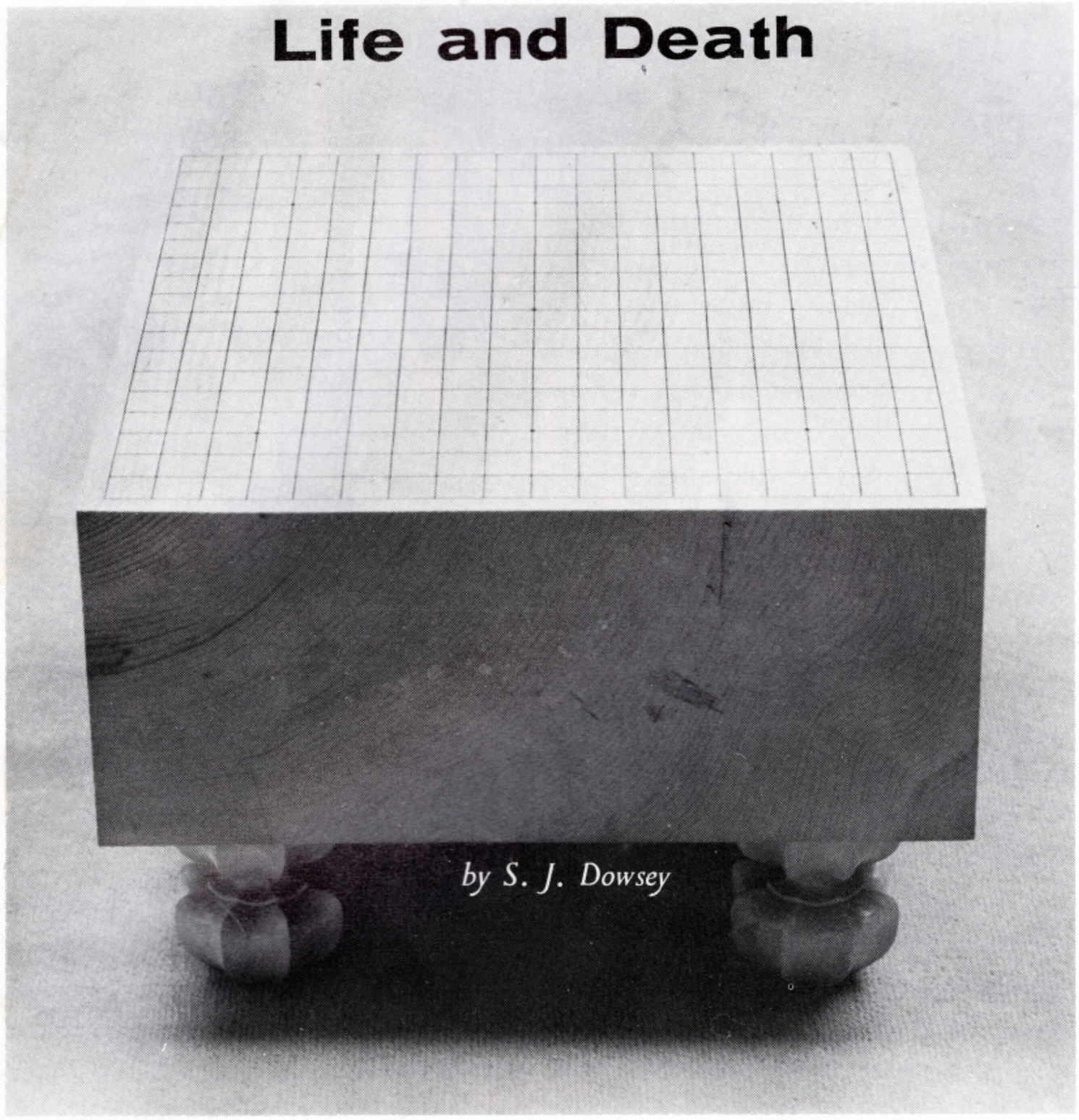
from Edo Iroha published by Shinsen-sha
Cut paper illustrations by Takidaira Jiro

The final Iroha card goes, "A dream in/of Kyōto, a dream of Ōsaka," *Kyō no yumé Ōsaka no yumé*, 京のゆめ おおさかのゆめ. This card, too, has sprouted confusing interpretations with none generally accepted, so it is not used in the game anymore. One explanation interprets the verse as the tendency to dream of Ōsaka while in Kyōto, therefore implying that "a dream carries you into places far from where you actually are." Another sees it as "A man dreams of higher status than he actually has." That is, a country man would dream of the great city of Kyōto with all its refinement, or the flourishing commercial town of Ōsaka with lots of entertainment.

The picture of the card depicts a commoner dreaming of a long formal hat such as was worn by the court nobles and a sword, the very symbol of the *bushi* or samurai class. The illustration thus supports the latter interpretation.

Well, with this you have all the Iroha cards. In the coming issue, you will be introduced to the origin of the Iroha cards and the rules for playing with them. 東

Life and Death



by S. J. Dowsey

LEST ANYONE think that we are going to launch into a philosophical diatribe, let me put your minds at rest. Life and Death are the terms used in Go to describe groups of stones which are either immune to capture (the former case) or are doomed to become prisoners (the latter instance). Borderline cases abound in every game and contribute much to the excitement and fascination of Go. To have a sizable group of stones captured is not pleasant; not only have all the moves expended in playing those stones become wasted, but the opponent gains considerably in terms of territory from the points where one's stones used to be and by virtue of the prisoners he has taken. This is not to say that you'll lose the game if you lose a group but winning will become that much more difficult. Beginners therefore must learn very early what comprises a living or a dead group.

All three White groups in Dia. 1 are completely surrounded by Black walls but are alive. Each contains two separate and distinct internal liberties which are called "eyes." Black can never play in any of these eyes as that would be suicide, which is forbidden as we noted previously. Therefore he cannot reduce White's liberties to less than two and must give up his attempt to capture. To refresh your memory take a look at Dia. 2. Here the White stones on the edge only have one eye at 'a', and as this is also White's last liberty, Black can play there to capture all the stones at any time he wishes. Comparison between this and the previous diagram will confirm the truth of the following statement: Groups with two or more eyes will live while those with one or less will die.

In Dia. 3, the situation has not yet been resolved. However a stone played by either player at 'b' will settle matters. Dia. 4 presents a similar situation but here the internal point 'c' is crucial for eye-making. For example Black 'c' deprives White of the very spot he needs to make two eyes. If White then resists by capturing that stone he will end with only one eye after all, while Black can prepare to capture if need be by playing another stone inside, which brings him within one move of doing so. This is known as playing in the center of three spaces. No matter

what way the three spaces are arranged, the center point is always vital to life or death.

Another unsettled situation is depicted in Dia. 5 where White needs a stone at 'd' to complete his second eye. Just let Black play at this point and the eye quickly vanishes, as we see in Dia. 6. Even when White captures Black 1 with 2, Black can threaten △ with 3. It is useless to connect at 1 to save the White stone as this reduces the whole group to one eye. in other words, the whole group died as soon as Black played 1.

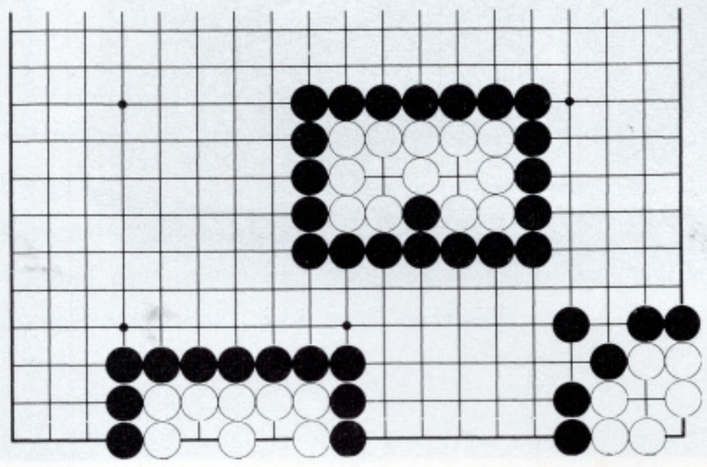
Black 1 in Dia. 6 killed the White group by turning one of the eyes into a 'false eye'. Another example of a false eye is shown in Dia. 7. 'e' is false because the three White stones marked △ are in *atari* and the only way to save them would be to connect at 'e'.

Size and shape play an important role in determining the fate of stones. The four empty spaces in a

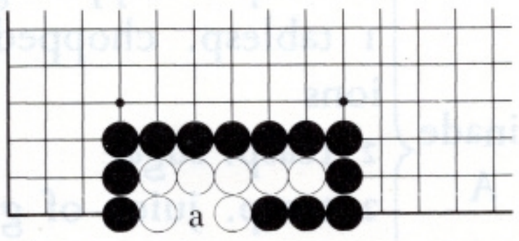
row within the White group in Dia. 8 guarantee its life. Should Black invade with 'f', White can make another eye with 'g' and vice-versa. Note that White must answer as soon as Black plays inside or he will die a miserable death. Two Black stones at 'f' and 'g' will suffice.

However four spaces in a pyramid need one more friendly stone at 'h' in Dia. 9 to stay in the world of the living. A Black stone at 'h' will dispatch them in no time at all. The point 'h' is also vital to the star shape which is created if you remove the stone marked △. Playing inside either of these to kill is entirely similar to playing in the center of three spaces except that process of capturing from inside takes progressively longer. Check it out for yourself. 東

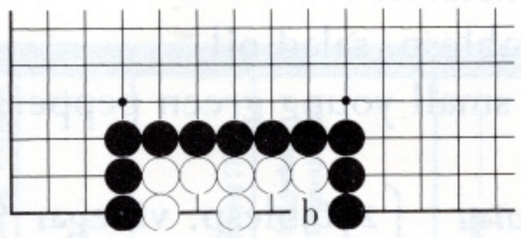
(Next month: Two special cases)



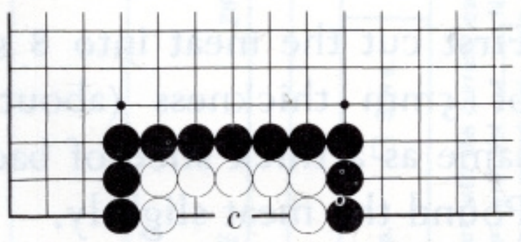
Dia. 1



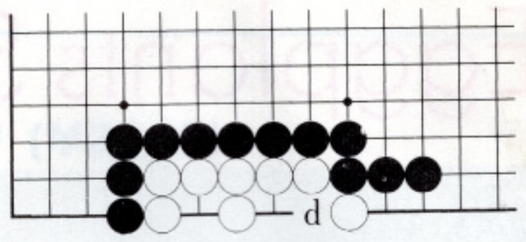
Dia. 2



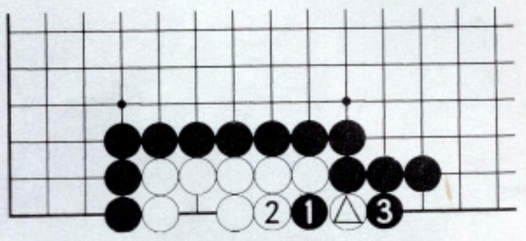
Dia. 3



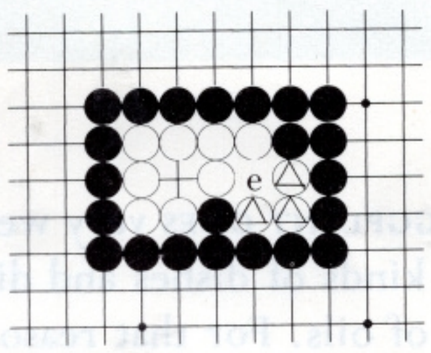
Dia. 4



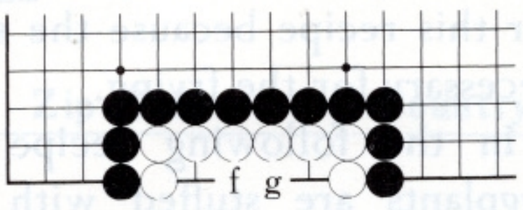
Dia. 5



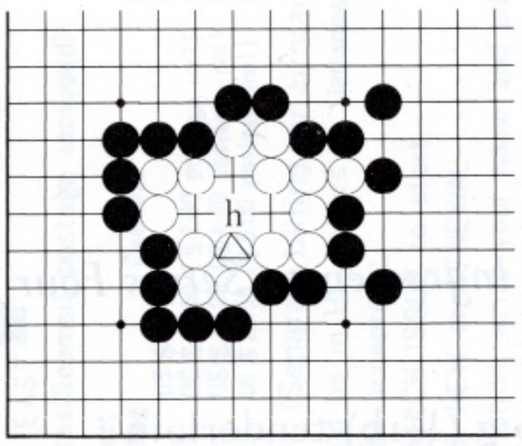
Dia. 6



Dia. 7



Dia. 8



Dia. 9

Eggplants Stuffed With Beef

EGGPLANT GOES very well with many kinds of dishes and different kinds of oils. For that reason, it is often used in everyday cooking. Japanese eggplant is harvested earlier and is therefore smaller in size than its Western counterpart. As much as possible it is best to use small or "baby" eggplants for this recipe because the skin is necessary for the frying.

In the following recipe fresh eggplants are stuffed with meat which has been marinaded to give it a special flavor. Then it is fried in oil.

Ingredients (Serves Four):

250 g ($\frac{1}{2}$ lb) tenderloin
8 eggplants (aubergines) about 4 in long more or less

marinade A
- 1 tablesp. white sesame seeds
- 2 teasp. chopped garlic
- 1 tablesp. chopped onions
- 2 teasp. sugar
- 2 teasp. juice of grated ginger (or 1 teasp. powdered ginger)
- 2 teasp. pepper
- 2 tablesp. soy sauce (Japanese brand)

cornstarch
3 tablesp. salad oil
16 small young green peppers
oil

nihaisu sauce B
- 2 tablesp. vinegar
- 2 tablesp. soy sauce
- 1 tablesp. accent (msg)

To Prepare:

1. First cut the meat into 8 slices of 5mm thickness (about the same as a thick slice of bacon). Pound the meat slightly.
2. Place the white sesame seeds in a small pan with no water, etc. and heat until some pop. Be careful not to burn them. Put them in a bowl and crush with a spoon. Ad the marinade ingredients A, mixing well. Put the meat slices in this mixture and let stand for 10 minutes.
3. Cut off the stem of each eggplant. Slice it lengthwise making sure not to cut completely through the stem end so that both halves are attached. Put them in water to keep the flesh from turning dark. Dry the insides well and coat with cornstarch. Put one slice of meat between each slice, closing with a toothpick.
4. Heat the oil in the fry pan to a high heat. Fry the stuffed eggplants on both sides so that the meat is cooked through.
5. Wash the green peppers and dry well. Put a hole in the tips. In oil heated to 140° C fry the peppers until their color changes to bright green. After draining, salt them lightly.
6. Add the ingredients B, to the *nihaisu* sauce. Serve it together with the stuffed egg-plants in individual bowls. 東

Something From Nothing

A certain talented young man was studying for the examinations and having a very tough time with composition. After watching him suffer so for a time, his wife sighed sympathetically, "It's really difficult to compose sentences, isn't it? It looks almost as hard as having children."

"Giving birth is much easier," he grumbled.

"Why?"

"Because when you bear a child all you have to do is empty what's already full. But I have to make full what is originally empty."

(from Hsiao Lin Kuang Chi*)*

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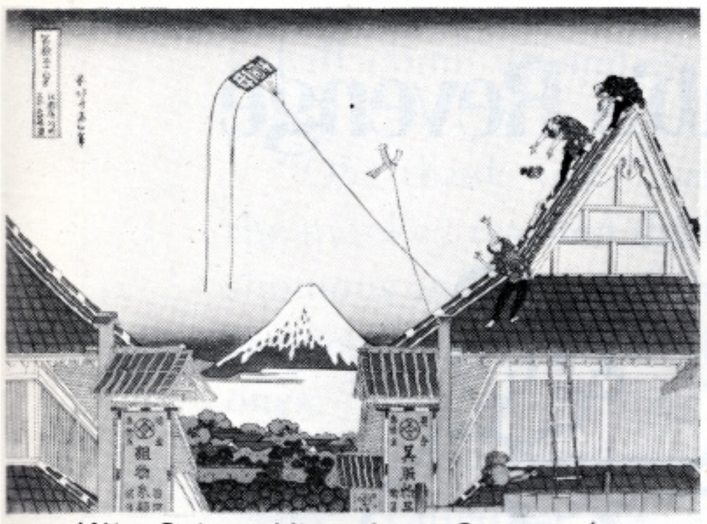

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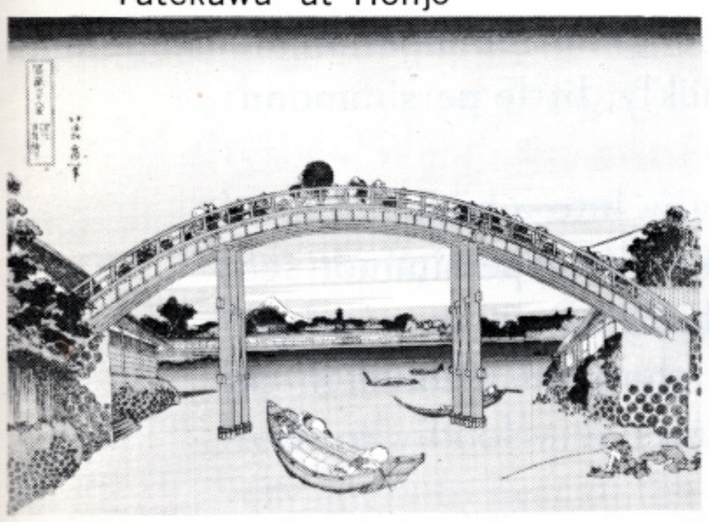
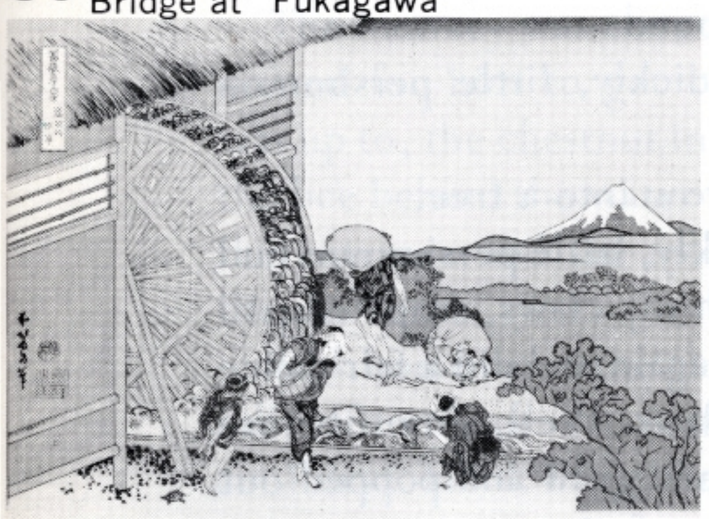
S2 The Lumberyards: View from Tatekawa at Honjo



S3 View through beneath Mannen-bashi Bridge at Fukagawa



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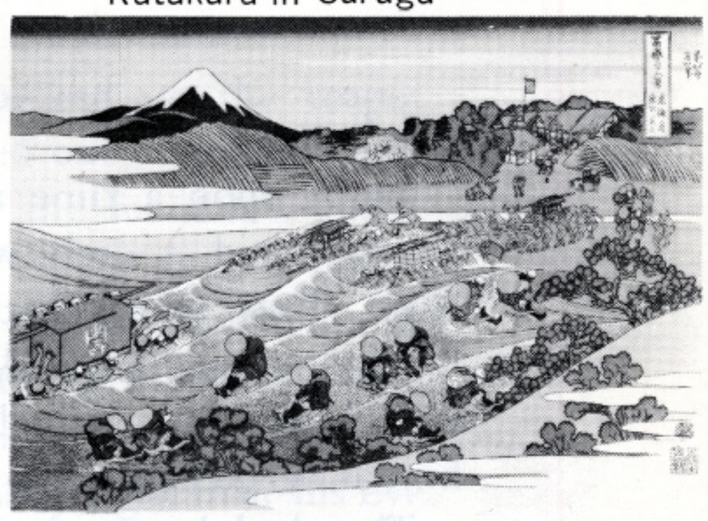
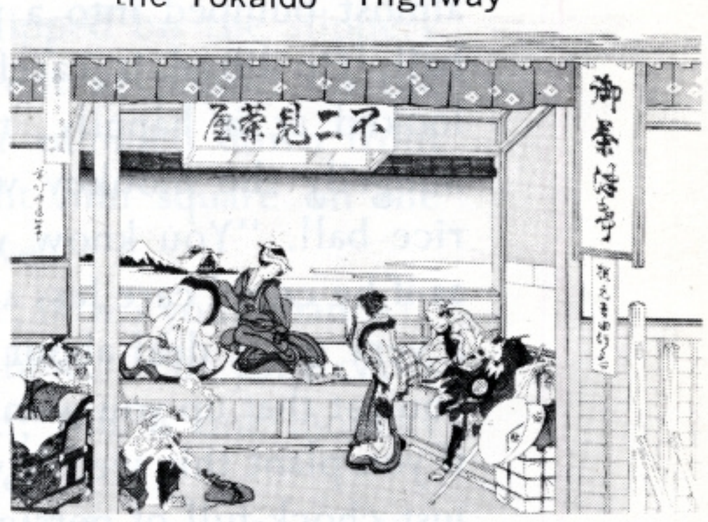


S8 Fording the River at Kanaya on the Tokaido Highway



S9 Stopping for a Rest and the View from Yoshida on the Tokaido Highway

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Shamanism in Early Japanese Society

by Mizuno Yū *Professor of History, Waseda University*

The Origin of the Word

THE WORD *miko* 巫女 or "shamaness of Japan" generally brings to the minds of modern Japanese an image of the Shintō priestess serving at the shrine in her white kimono and long scarlet skirt. Or they may think of the spiritual medium who makes her living by her magic arts, calling back ancestral spirits to communicate with the living. The latter type of miko used to be commonly found in various regions of Japan.

Despite the variance in their activities, both of these types of women are definitely referred to as miko. The former assists the Shintō priests in a supportive role familiar to us through the sacred dances which she offers up to the gods on particular occasions in front of the shrine. The latter finds her living among the people out of the aegis of the shrine. She may settle down in some province or continue roving from village to village; in either case, she lives by conjuring. Of course the prototype of the miko belonged to the former category.

Miko is also written 神子 (神, "god" and 子, "child"); as the characters indicate, the miko originally was a divine woman in the service of the gods. According to the *Engishiki* 延喜式, a document compiled in 927 providing an outline of ceremonies and systems related to shrines in the early Heian Court, after the period when Shintōism became firmly structured miko entered into service at one of the important major shrines where they were known as *kan-nagi* and primarily assumed the role of appeasing the gods.

The *Nihonshoki* 日本書紀 (Chronicles of Japan) relates the following episode which is supposed to have taken place in February, 643: "A powerful retainer of the Soga Clan was crossing a big bridge over the Hirosé River one day when a multitude of shamans and shamanesses rushed toward him all muttering oracles and waving sacred *sakaki* branches decorated with cotton. There were so many of them that their chanting was just a jumble and he could not distinguish what they were saying." It is assumed on the basis of this passage that professional miko were conveying the words of the gods entirely apart from the Shintō shrines by the 7th century.

The best known miko before the 7th century by far is the elusive Himiko 卑弥呼 who appears in the *Wei Records* (魏志倭人伝). She is said to have "engaged in magic-making and agitated the populace." This alone is sufficient to indicate her shamanistic attributes; other statements in the writings such as, "Himiko was an aging woman who had no husband," add further proof of her mystic character. Because this unmarried high priestess is said to have attained the position of queen of the nation by virtue of her supernatural authority, some scholars prefer to view her reign as a magico-religious model of government. Others assert that the existence of the miko-queen provides convincing evidence for the prevalance of a matriarchal society in Japan at one time headed by a woman ruler. However, *Wei Records* cites to the contrary that male lords governed Japan for 70 to 80 years prior to Himiko's reign. So one hesitates to conclude too hastily on the basis of Himiko's accession to the queenship alone that a matriarchal, magico-religious society obtained until the third century.

One important thing to remember, however, in understanding those early days is that not even a male ruler who came to power on a purely political basis could establish truly absolute supremacy if he divested himself of every veil of mystery and magic. The fragmented state of communal entities at that time prevented it. Thus the political leadership of the first and second centuries was marked by extreme unstability. Internal conflicts sharpened within the loosely confederated communal groups and domestic insurrections broke out, but as the kings of the time did not possess sufficient political, economical and military strength to bring peace to their people, generation after generation went by in turmoil.

Therefore, a high priestess like Himiko who was revered by the lords and populace alike for her supernatural power to perceive the

will of the divinities, and whose words were obeyed as the words of the gods, was chosen to be entrusted with the supreme power—to lead the nation as queen. In other words, the lords of different provinces agreed to endorse Himiko as the leader of the confederation. Recognition of Himiko's right to rule brought an end to the persisting hostilities, and peace was finally achieved. This incident strongly supports the assertion that the possessed miko who transmitted the gods' will commanded the absolute faith of her people.

No reliable documented proof is available today to establish the miko's historicity in Japan prior to Himiko, nor that of the extended matrilineal family system and matriarchal social structure for that matter.

Some try to assess the rise of miko from archaeological evidences; that is, they conclude that the clay images of goddesses made in the Jōmon Period indicate the emergence of the shamaness, for the appearance of the miko must have coincided with creations of her image in clay. Such an assertion is made from the features of the archaic fetishes—the vertical and horizontal lines running across the goddess are considered to represent "life lines" that are academically termed "X-rays" and symbolize concentration of the mind; the clay busts are said to suggest the mask-like contours with carved lines surrounding the eyes that signify the "evil eyes" so characteristic of a shamaness.

It does not seem to me, however, that clay images of goddesses alone are neccessarily sufficient to substantiate the existence of shamanism in the past. There is no doubt that the images did spring from a primitive magical belief and are vestiges of magico-religious civilization, but they could have other significances. Many of the fetish objects exhibit protruding breasts and smooth, round bellies, and expose magnified female genital organs. The exaggerated female sexual features may be the manifestation not of a miko but of a pregnant woman and thus the reproductive ability of womankind. The ancient people could have believed in the talismanic powers of the images, could have believed that an easy birth or a bountiful harvest could be invoked by carrying the images on one's person or using them as ritual accessories. In other words, they could have been the objects used in contagious or imitative magic. Not all magical religions arise from shamanism—which is the reason why I hesitate to conclude that the clay images undisputedly prove that a shamanistic era existed in Japan. The abrupt cessation of the clay images with the end of the Jōmon Period indicates that a radical change took place in the primitive magic religion with the outset of the succeeding Yayoi Period.

Miko Activity in Government

Besides Himiko a fair number of miko acted either as priestesses or mediums in ancient Japan. Since the majority of them are known to us only through myths and legends, several stages of proof will be necessary to justify the conclusion that they really existed. Let us begin by listing the important miko of ancient Japan who appear therein: 1. Toyosukiiri Himé—princess of Emperor Sujin; she was "elected" by Amaterasu Ōmikami (the Sun Goddess) and served her at Kasanui no Mura in Yamato. 2. Nunakiiri Himé—also princess of Emperor Sujin who was summoned to serve Yamato no Ōkunitama no Kami. 3. Yamato Himé—princess of Emperor Suinin who was commanded to dedicate herself to Amaterasu Ōmikami at Isé Shrine. She is considered to be the first miko to serve at Isé Shrine. 4. Okinagatarashi Himé—consort of Emperor Chūai, who later became Empress Jingū. When Emperor Chūai went on a mission to expell the Kumaso (a valiant tribe that refused to submit to the Yamato Court), the Empress played the *koto*, fell into a trance and allowed the three gods of Sumiyoshi to possess her. They called for an expeditionary force to be dispatched to Silla on the Korean peninsula. This the Emperor ignored, provoking the gods' anger. He soon died. The Empress succeeded him and followed the divine command. At her direction the Japanese army conquered Silla and ultimately succeeded in subjugating Kumaso, or so the legend relates. Since Empress Jingū clearly became possessed at the request of the Emperor, she was obviously a miko. 5. Oshisaka no Ōnakatsu Himé—younger sister of Prince Ōhodo, who later became the Consort of Emperor Ingyō. When the Emperor resolutely declined the throne on grounds of illness, the Empress made a pact and urged him to accept it. The Emperor yielded and succeeded to the royal seat. The methods she used to achieve her end in this case may be viewed as quite shamanistic. 6. Oshiumi no Ītoyoao no Mikoto—princess of Emperor Richū who became, according to myth, the first ruling empress after the demise of Emperor Yūryaku. She supposedly resided in Tsunosashi Palace at Takagi in the province of Katsuragi. She remained single all her life; moreover she is said to have felt averse to engaging in sexual intercourse—convincing signs that she was a miko. Another indication of her priestess-like

attributes is the assertion that she caused Prince Oké to be possessed and enthroned him to succeed her.

Japanese legends and mythology abound with shamanistic figures whose historicity seems fairly credible or whose miko-like characters are plainly described. To cite several who are portrayed as miko: Amé no Uzumé no Mikoto was spontaneously possessed and performed a frenzied dance half naked to coax the Sun Goddess out of her hiding place in the celestial cave; Suseri Himé (or Susa no Yori Himé), daughter of Susa no O no Mikoto; Nunakawa Himé, the miko of Ōkuninushi; Toyotama Himé was supposed to have turned into a gigantic crocodile when she bore a child, and never returned to normal because her husband peeped into the place of delivery; and countless other figures. These miko are regarded essentially as shamanesses; thus it is generally concluded that the roots of Shintōism lie in the shamanism of primitive Japanese society.

Yori Himé and Iri Himé

Iyo was a disciple of Himiko, who practiced magic, lured and agitated the populace, and remained unmarried—all attesting to her shamanistic attributes.

Iyo succeeded her mistress as empress. She, too, was a miko in Himiko's clan and was only thirteen when she was crowned. Yet she must have excelled in magic, for she is believed to have gained as much popularity as the aged, more experienced miko. Among the empresses and princesses of the legendary imperial family who evidence the characteristics of a miko, Empress Jingū is the only one who is known to have become possessed; other miko of the imperial lineage who simply served gods at shrines cannot be categorized as shamanesses. However, a shamanistic nature was indubitably displayed by Yamato-hime who uttered prophesies and practiced incantation to placate evil spirits or by Oshisaka no Ōnakatsu Himé who practiced divination and pledged her life to the gods. It is not clear today whether these shamanistic princesses were professional miko who gained their training through a series of ini-

Jomon clay figure exhibits shamanistic elements.

Clay figure with a chilling gaze fierce enough to ward off disaster (poss. Tōkyō National Museum)

tiatory trials or not. The myths and legends of old times present some clues as to the existence of miko other than the imperial family members who served their gods. Certain native miko of various regions seem to have pronounced oracles and/or practiced augury—again their practices were quite shamanistic. Sometimes these native magicians were male shamans called *geki* 覡.

In Japan there were two types of shamanesses—miko by hereditary transmission of the shamanistic profession and miko by spontaneous vocation or "election." To cite some examples of the voluntary miko, there are: Toyotama Himé, the daughter of the Sea God who was summoned by Hori no Mikoto; Seyatatara Himé, the daughter of Mishima no Mizokui who was appointed by the God Kotoshironushi. Her daughter was Hototataraisukeyori Himé, a divine child who was wedded to Emperor Jimmu. The gods warned her by divine message that Tagishimimi no Mikoto was rising against Emperor Jimmu. Yamatototohimomoso Himé was heroic character who was buried at Hashihaka in Yamato. She was called upon by the god Ōmononushi and became his wife. Ikutamayori Himé is another miko who was also summoned by the same god. All these miko cited here were "elected" by gods, signified by the inclusion of "-yori Himé" in their names. This phrase indicates women who are possessed spontaneously.

The hereditary miko on the other hand, that is princes and princesses of the imperial family descended from Emperor Sujin, were generally named "-iri Hiko" for princes and "-iri Himé" for princesses. They are considered to have been shamans and shamanesses by inherited profession who were organized and trained within the line of the royal family to serve and enshrine the Imperial family's ancestral gods.

In contrast to "-yori Himé" miko who were "elected" by the gods they served, "-iri Himé" miko had to train themselves of their own volition to function in the sphere of divinity and the supernatural. The "-iri-" part of their names signifies that they make themselves into truly professional miko by undergoing a series of trials. The gods did not inspire their spirits to take up the vocation; rather, they succeeded to their hereditary positions within the priestly organization. Nunakiiri Himé (miko), Toyosukiiri Himé (miko), Yasakairi Himé (miko), Futajinoiri Himé (miko), Mimakiiri Hiko Inié no Mikoto (Emperor Sujin), Ikumeiri Hiko Isachi no Mikoto (Emperor Suinin), and Toyokiiri Hiko (geki), all represent shamans and shamnesses of the hereditary category. A legend concerning Emperor Sujin reveals the nature of his government of type: Sporting the imposing name Hatsukunishirasusumera Mikoto (The Builder of a New Nation), the kingdom he is credited with originating showed evidences of shamanistic elements in the manner of rule. The spirits of various gods were enshrined to bring peace to the nation enabling the Emperor to accomplish the founding of the Yamato Dynasty. The assertion I made formerly, that the Sujin Dynasty (which began with Emperor Sujin and lasted until Emperor Chūai) should be designated a shamanistic kingdom, was formulated on the basis of this reasoning.

The origin of religion in Japan may be traced back to the animism of the Jōmon Culture when it was believed that natural entities harbored spirits, and magic was often resorted to in order to soothe the animistic spirits. Later with the opening of the Yayoi Period the shamanism of the Tungus in the northeast Asia filtered into Japan, there to eventually mix with the already existing magical beliefs. Together these formed the foundation of magico-shamanistic religion in Japan. This hybrid cult is considered to have developed into primitive Shintōism in the succeeding eras.

The possessed miko were charismatic and sacred guardians, revered with awe and trusted by their people. Himiko and her disciple Iyo were both endorsed by the lords of the provinces to assume supreme leadership, and women who were imputed to be children of gods were chosen to become imperial consorts precisely because of the shamanistic authority and the wide respect the miko commanded. Moreover it was because of their shamanistic nature that emperors could engage in purely political and military matters as the heads of the nation while relegating religious and ritual responsibilities to their miko empresses. Miko empresses and princesses who took over religious functions on behalf of the emperor or who advised emperors on the proper course of action in time of crisis, who divined the future and mediated with the supernatural to back up the emperors evidenced the shamanistic inclination of pre-Yamato times.

The shamanistic practices observed by the possessed miko of old Japan did exert a great deal of influence over the society—a fact that must be given full recognition. It is on the firm shamanistic foundation solidified by miko, the magico-religious tradition, that the primitive nation was built, and the deep-rooted shamanistic tendencies played a very important part in the shaping of the early Japanese state.

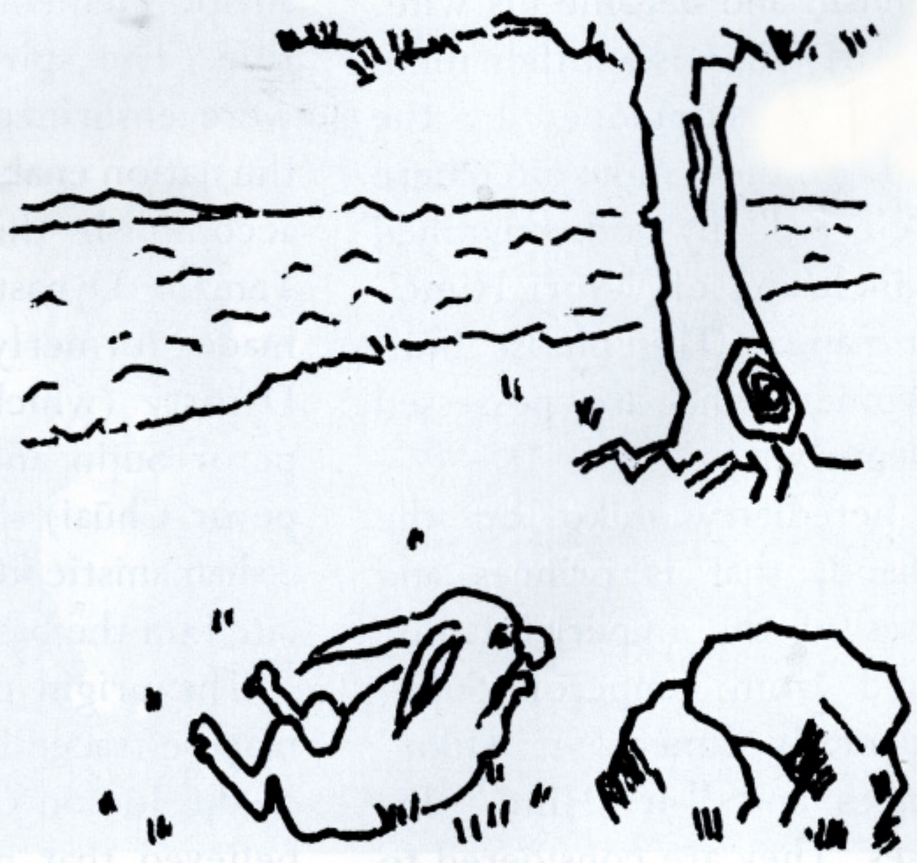
(From Rekishi Dokuhon*)*

The White Rabbit of Inaba

ONCE UPON A time a long long time ago, there was a god with the impressive name of Ookuni Nushi, "Lord of a Great Land." Now this lord, who was very good and kind, had a great many brothers and some of them, it must be admitted, were not so nice. All of the brothers wanted to go to the land known as Inaba, which borders on the Japan Sea where it sparkles like jewels of the bluest blue, there to try for the hand of the fair Princess Yagami. Ookuni Nushi wanted to go too.

So that is how all the brothers happened to be passing the seashore where it comes to a point jutting out into the vast wide sea—all except for Ookuni Nushi who was trailing behind. Because when he pleaded "I want to go too," they all laughed and said, "all right, you can come along, but you will have to carry our bags," and the bags were very many and very heavy so he fell farther and farther behind.

At the seashore all of the brothers, except for Ookuni Nushi, came upon a most pitiful sight. A poor little rabbit was crying and sobbing. And well might he complain, for he was



naked everywhere and not a bit of fur left. "Ow, it hurts!" he whimpered.

"You're in a bad way," the brothers laughed. "But we'll tell you what to do. Just jump into the sea water and then lie out on that rock where the wind can blow coolly over you." Their mischief done, they went on.

Feel for the rabbit. He did as he was told, and as the sea water dried in the buffeting gusts of wind the salt bit into his already smarting skin and stung him most dreadfully. He was moaning and groaning and wailing away when along came Ookuni Nushi.

"What happened to you?" he asked.

"I wanted so badly to come to Inaba from the far island of Oki," the rabbit wiped his eyes with a trembling paw, "but I didn't have any way to get across all that water. Then I got an idea. I called all the crocodiles together and proposed a contest to see which of us has the largest family. They agreed to line up head to tail from Oki to the seashore while I skipped along their backs and counted them. Everything was going fine until I got to the last crocodile. I was so delighted that I laughed, 'Well there it is.' 'We've been deceived!' the last one shouted and they all fell on me at once, stripping off every precious patch of my wonderful overcoat. And then as if I hadn't suffered enough, along came all these gods who told me to dip into the sea and lie out on the rock so the wind could blow over me, so I did like they said and now it hurts all over worse than ever. Oww! Oh! Hurts!"

Ookuni Nushi shook his head sympathetically. "You *have* had a bad time. Well, I'll tell you what to do. Go bathe in the fresh water that collects in the rocks of the river running into the sea, then make a bed for yourself of the fluff from the cattails growing in the river. If you lie there and rest your skin will be good as new." The rabbit scampered off to do exactly as he was told and

exactly as promised his skin healed good as new. His color was the color of purest purest white. Even today we talk of the White Rabbits of Inaba who are favorites of the gods.

The rabbit skipped happily and hopped joyfully, all the while thanking the kindly Ookuni Nushi.

"I'm glad that I could help you," sighed Ookuni Nushi, "but I've surely lost all chance of winning the fair Princess Yagami's hand, for my brothers have gone ahead and he who gets there first will surely have her."

The rabbit, though, was confident. "You need have no worry for that, my friend. Just shoulder your bags cheerfully and go to where she is, for your bride is waiting for you, for you and only you."

And indeed, so she was. 東

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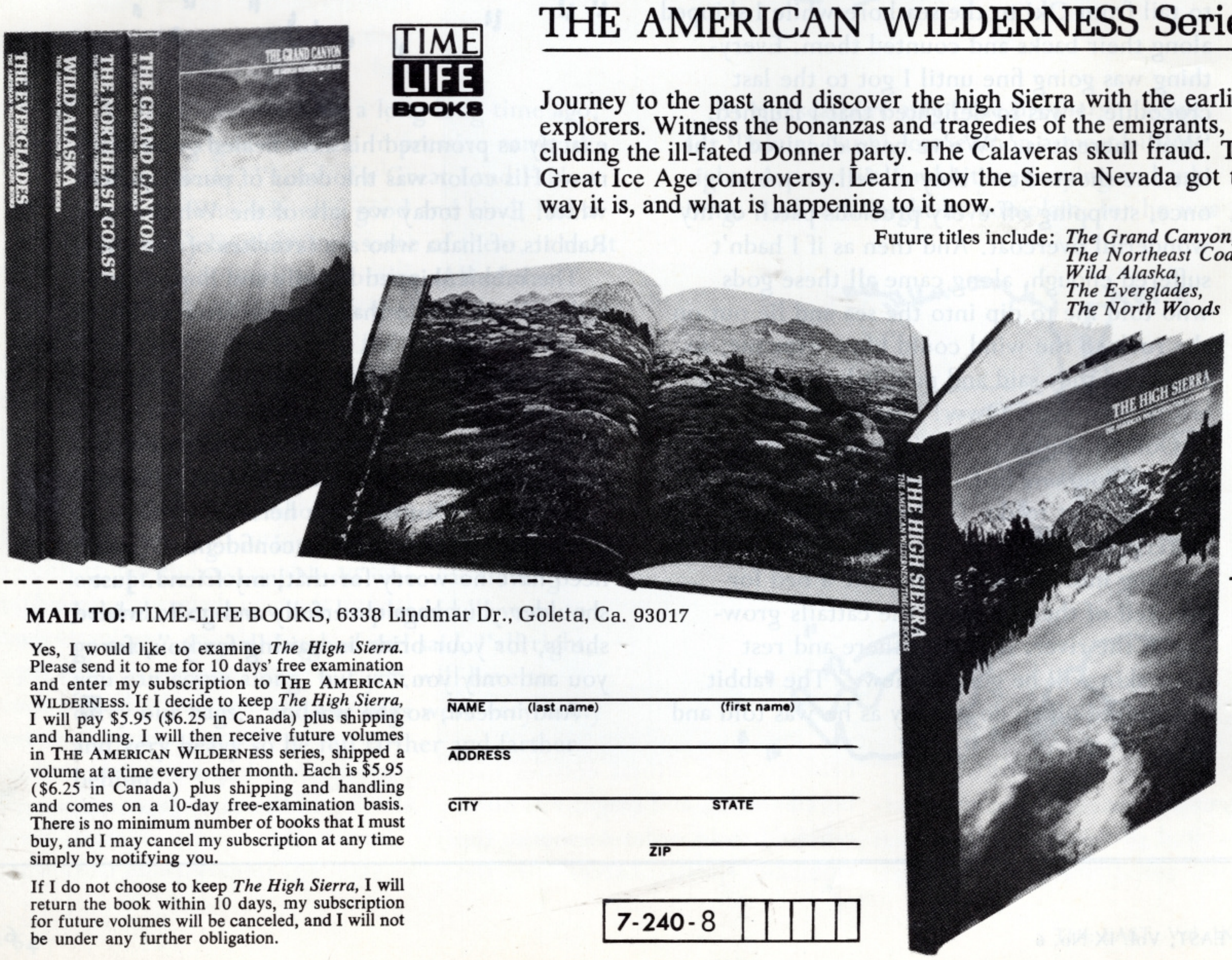

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Suntory Royal

How to Fly, Japanese Style.

One man's sushi is another man's steak.

First Class service aboard Japan Air Lines.

There's just no second guessing about taste.

So, to keep everyone happy, we have a simple solution.

Two cuisines.

One is Japanese.

The other is Continental.

No matter which one you choose—the familiar or the adventurous—one thing remains the same: the elegant, understated service that is ours alone.

It's reflected in the smile of your JAL hostess as she offers you a steaming *oshibori* towel to refresh yourself. Her delicate grace as she pours your *sake*. The very special way she makes you feel like an honored guest at a family banquet.

Unique service like this doesn't just happen at mealtime. From our first hello to our last *sayonara,* we do our best to prove there's as much difference between airlines as between airline menus.

We're the one where East meets West.

JAL

JAPAN AIR LINES